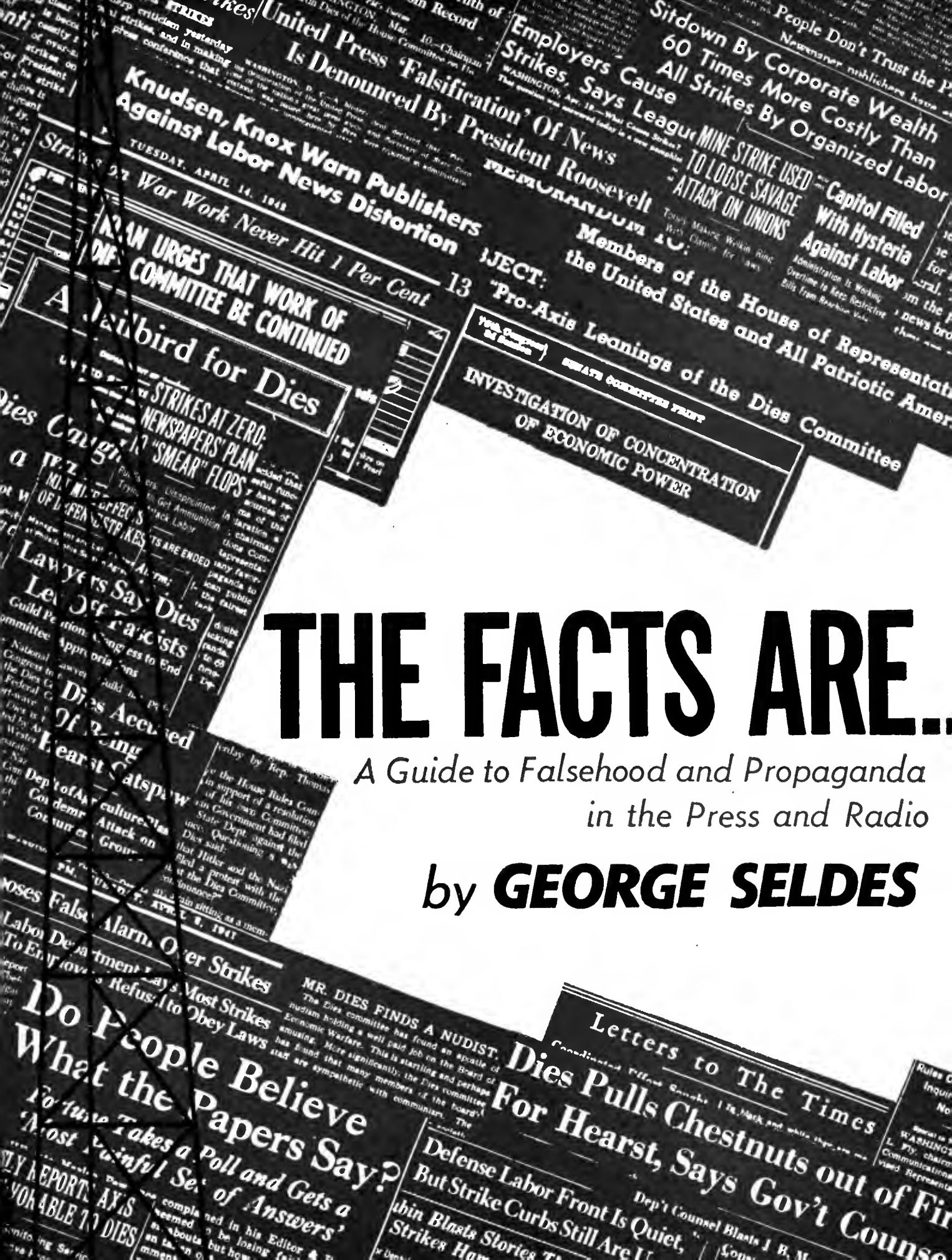

THE FACTS ARE...

A Guide to Falsehood and Propaganda in the Press and Radio

by **GEORGE SELDES**

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The Facts are...

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A GUIDE TO FALSEHOOD AND PROPAGANDA IN THE PRESS AND RADIO

by George Seldes

In Fact, INC. NEW YORK

The Facts are . . .
A Guide to Falsehood and Propaganda
in the Press and Radio
By George Seldes

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THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED TO THE STAFF OF In Fact

ITS WINTER SOLDIERS

AND ITS MORE THAN 100,000 SUBSCRIBERS

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PART ONE *Is the Entire Press Corrupt?*

1 THE GREATEST POWER IN WAR AND PEACE

It is more than likely that in the time intervening between the writing of this book and the day it is read the World War now being fought far away will have become a reality, a matter of life and death, to millions of Americans. There may be long casualty lists, there may be bombardments of great coastal cities, and the facts of the greatest struggle for the welfare of humanity against its greatest enemy (Fascism) will be felt as well as known.

The conduct of this war, the making of the unity necessary to win it, or the spreading of disunity which for the first time in the history of the Republic may endanger its existence, will depend considerably on the press, and the kind of peace which will follow will depend even more than did the Versailles peace, on the conduct of the press of all nations. Today we are fighting for our lives. We have been attacked. The enemy is Fascism. There can therefore be no room in the anti-Fascist world at this time for doubt about the justness of the war, or its causes, as there were in the last war, but when peace nears all of us will have to be on the alert to prevent the present movement against world Fascism from being diverted into many strange channels by public opinion created by a press which is still in Fascist or semi-Fascist control even in democratic nations.

I believe that the press will be the instrument for uniting America for war and that it will be still more powerful in making a peace which may benefit all peoples or certain interests. I also believe that most of the world press is controlled by special interests and as a result is corrupt. Therefore it is necessary to explain and expose this corruption of the press and to question its handling of the news of the war, so that we may judge its role in creating a better world—for which this war is being fought.

What is the most powerful force in America today?

Answer: public opinion.

What makes public opinion?

Answer: the main force is the press.

Can you trust the press?

Answer: the baseball scores are always correct (except for a typographical error now and then). The stockmarket tables are correct (within the same limitation). But when it comes to news which will affect you, your daily life, your job, your relation to other peoples, your thinking on economic and social problems, and, more important today, your going to war and risking your life for a great ideal, then you cannot trust about 98 percent (or perhaps 99½ percent) of the big newspaper and big magazine press of America.

But, why can't you trust the press?

IS THE ENTIRE PRESS CORRUPT?

Answer: because it has become Big Business. The big city press and the big magazines have become commercialized, or big business organizations, run with no other motive than profit for owner or stockholder (although hypocritically still maintaining the old American tradition of guiding and enlightening the people). The big press cannot exist a day without advertising. Advertising means money from Big Business. The truth about Big Business is told in the three or four hundred volumes of government reports (the 73 volume record of the investigation of the public utilities by the Federal Trade Commission; the 50 volumes of the two LaFollette reports on the violations of the rights of labor; the threescore reports of the O'Mahoney monopoly investigation and many more). Besides naming thousands of newspapers, scores of magazines, many writers and college professors as being corrupted by the special interests, and receiving the price paid, which ranges all the way from a $5 bill and a few drinks at a bar to a million dollar mortgage, the reports come to these documented conclusions:

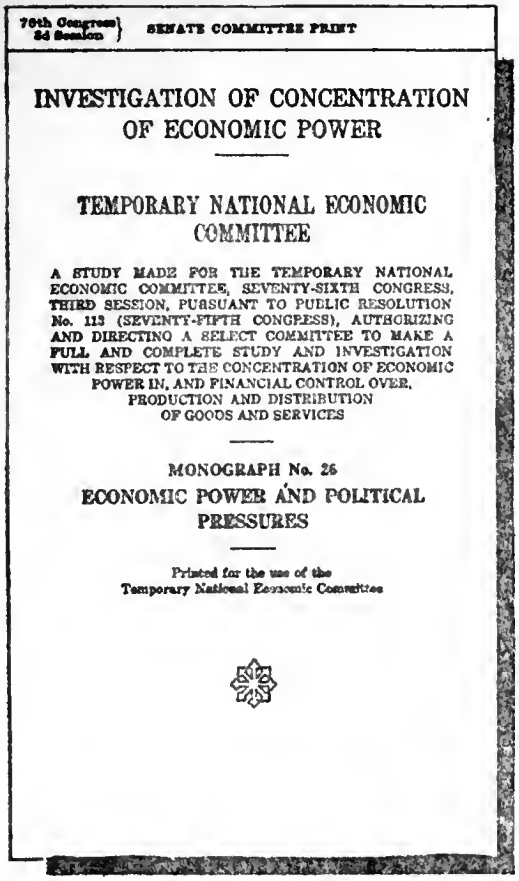
1. America is in the hands of 200 industrial and 50 financial families.
2. These families run this country.
3. They supply the funds which elect the officials of the United States, from state legislatures to the presidency.
4. They control billions in stocks and bonds, they control the economic life of the nation.
5. They control legislation; they control Congress; they maintain the most powerful lobby in Washington, and usually get what they want.
6. They use the American Newspaper Publishers Association (the big newspaper owners) as an instrument to maintain their control of America.
7. They use advertising (in newspapers and magazines) to make this stranglehold on public opinion possible.

In other words, they control *you*.

Very few people will accept these seven statements as facts, yet they are facts known to everyone in the newspaper business, in big business, in politics; they are known to all who read the small free liberal magazines and to everyone who is part of the ruling group. The facts appear in government documents. But these are also the facts which have been suppressed in the popular newspapers and magazines, and that of course is the reason America is kept in ignorance of the most vital matters affecting the life, happiness and welfare of the majority of its citizens.

I have written several books on the press and I am publishing a weekly newsletter devoted largely to criticizing the big city newspapers (the public opinion-making newspapers) and exposing their corruption, because I still believe that the press is the greatest force in the world and can be used for good or evil. And I believe that the American press by its control of public opinion can either fool all the people into restoring a world in which 43,000,000 people (one-third of the nation) will again live in economic slavery without sufficient food, clothing and shelter, or it can, if it wants to, bring out of this united effort against native as well as foreign Fascism a world approaching the Jeffersonian ideal.

In 1787 Jefferson declared that "the basis of our government is the opinion of the people"; given the choice of "a government without newspapers, or newspapers



76th Congress, 3d Session } SENATE COMMITTEE PRINT

INVESTIGATION OF CONCENTRATION OF ECONOMIC POWER

TEMPORARY NATIONAL ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

A STUDY MADE FOR THE TEMPORARY NATIONAL ECONOMIC COMMITTEE, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, THIRD SESSION, PUASUANT TO PUBLIC RESOLUTION No. 113 (SEVENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS), AUTHORIZING AND DIRECTING A SELECT COMMITTEE TO MAKE A FULL AND COMPLETE STUDY AND INVESTIGATION WITH RESPECT TO THE CONCENTRATION OF ECONOMIC POWER IN, AND FINANCIAL CONTROL OVER, PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS AND SERVICES

MONOGRAPH No. 26

ECONOMIC POWER AND POLITICAL PRESSURES

Printed for the use of the Temporary National Economic Committee

15

Among industry's satellites, commercial banking presents a united front to government through the American Bankers Association, while the Investment Bankers Association of America functions in the same capacity for investment banking.[1] Although it includes by no means all the country's lawyers, the American Bar Association is the part of the legal profession most closely allied in thought with American business. Through the American Newspaper Publishers Association the country's daily newspapers join their strength for business and against government. National groups in the accounting, engineering, auditing, and advertising professions share the general philosophy of business and shape their public activities accordingly.

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Although not always in complete accord, the N. A. M. and the Chamber of Commerce are as one in their opposition to the National Labor Relations Act and in their support of proposed legislation to limit the law enforcement powers of administrative agencies, and to increase correspondingly the power of the courts.[3] The American Bar Association has, by framing and pushing legislative proposals designed to achieve this purpose, indicated its fundamental community of interest with business.[4] The American Newspaper Publishers' Association shares a similar community of interest. This community of interest is reflected in the opinions which these and other professional and business organizations publish, and which are essentially projections of the philosophy of industrial management as conceived by business and industry.[5] The origin and development of the National Association of Manufacturers, the substance of its philosophy and the methods used in applying it, are, therefore, of central importance in a discussion of the forces shaping the Nation's industrial relations policy.[6]

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form.

Speaking bluntly, the Government and the public are "over a barrel" when it comes to dealing with business in time of war or other crisis. Business refuses to work, except on terms which it dictates.

9

In this connection the business orientation of the newspaper press is a valuable asset. In the nature of the things, public opinion is usually well disposed toward business. This is a natural consequence of the popular belief in the virtues of the American system, as understood by the business community. Business is more or less unconsciously assumed to be right. Government is the "prosecutor." But, in addition, newspapers have it in their power materially to influence public opinion on particular issues. When it comes to measuring particular situations of fact against general principles and presenting the comparison as news, newspapers are shapers of opinion as well as purveyors of fact. Editors are aware of this, of course, and many take special precautions to avoid it. With others, editorializing is practiced as a matter of course. And even where editors and publishers are men of the highest integrity, they are owners and managers of big business enterprises, and their papers inevitably reflect, at least to some extent, their economic interest. When organized business deliberately propagandizes the country, using newspaper advertising as one medium, the press is a direct means of channeling business views into the public mind.

3

their own ends. It is these pressure groups with which this study is largely concerned. By far the largest and most important of these groups is to be found in "business," which in this study means the business community, as dominated by the 200 largest nonfinancial and the 50 largest financial corporations, and the employer and trade associations into which it and its satellites are organized. These 250 corporations represent a concentration of economic power in the fields of manufacturing, transportation, electric and gas utilities, and mining, and, to a lesser extent, merchandising, the service industries, and even agriculture.[4]

Another large segment of pressure groups includes the patriotic

1

The American people are confronted with the problem of who shall control the Government, by what means, and to what ends.

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consumers, affected by the legislation. The Vick Chemical Co., of North Carolina, and the Lambert Pharmacal Co., of St. Louis, were represented in the crusading zeal of Senators Bailey (North Carolina) and Clark (Missouri) to combat bureaucracy. In the minority report their signatures appear under the statement that the—

Legislation should be directed * * * to preventing adulteration, * * * (etc.) and not to regulatory control of the food, drug, and cosmetic industries. The bill is directed to the latter and, accordingly, authorizes needless bureaucratic control."

Another important factor was the little publicity given to the legislation in the press. Newspapers had apparently been led to believe that it was a menace to advertising.[55] However, the pressure brought to bear by consumer organizations, women's associations, etc., did much to retain in the legislation provisions of real benefit to the consumer.[56]

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Democracy in America is on the defensive. In the preceding pages, it has been shown that pressure groups as now operating usually fail to promote the general welfare. This is due less to their differing conceptions of the general welfare than to the grafting of pressure groups to a geographical system of representation, in conjunction with business control of resources, including technology, which results in a fatal inequality of bargaining power.

For 25¢ the U. S. Gov't will send you this pamphlet, which contains more truth about America than you'll find in 99% of the newspapers. Of course the press suppressed the main facts. The N. Y. Times suppressed all mention of the American publishers as the enemies of America.

(Extracts from Monograph 26 at right. Page numbers given.)

TNEC URGES BOARD FOR LOBBY CONTROL

Registration and Publication of Names, Activities and Finances Are Suggested

400 GROUPS AT CAPITAL

Pressure as Used on Congress, President and Judiciary Is Discussed In Report

N. Y. TIMES MAR 13 1941

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 12—The periodic registration of all lobbyists in Washington and publication of their names, organizations, finances and activities were advocated as an

NATIONAL EDITION

The PROGRESSIVE

VOL. 4, NO. 43 MADISON, WISCONSIN, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1940 Price Five Cents

13 'Royal Families' Control U. S. Economy

Sensational SEC Survey Shows Tight Grasp Of 200 Huge Corporations

THIRTEEN "royal families" including the Lords, the

For $2 the U. S. will send you Monograph 29 telling you who owns and controls America. The press won't tell you.

without government," he would prefer the latter. Think of it! Jefferson was willing to let the press itself rule the country instead of merely creating the public opinion which rules.

But Jefferson did not foresee that the American press which creates opinion and which rules indirectly would become almost exclusively a millionaire's press, or a corporation-influenced press, or the medium of big business via its advertising, and therefore the corrupt press which serves private interests rather than the public interest. In the pages which follow I will present a few proofs of this indictment. If America is to be bossed by the public opinion created by its press, if it is to fight and win this war, if it is to make a great peace, then it should know the power of the most powerful force which is abroad in the land.

2 FROM WASHINGTON TO F.D.R.

The press which attacked George Washington, which denounced him as everything from a traitor to a drunkard, was not a corrupt press. It was in fact a free press. But the press which from 1932 (or thereabouts) to the present day attacks New Deal F. D. Roosevelt, the same press which tried to suppress the Old Deal Teapot Dome scandal and the doings of Harding's Ohio gang, while sniping at every governmental action for the general welfare of the American people, is a corrupt press.

To understand the news today it is important that the layman should know what motivates the newspapers; why they are united to keep the people ignorant of vital events and movements; why they are, in short, the enemies of progress and the well-being of the majority of the people. What has happened to this great "palladium of freedom," this "spokesman for liberty," this defender of justice and righter of the wrongs of the millions?

Why has the press become corrupt?

What change has come over the American newspapers between the time of Washington and the days of the New Deal and the great World War of the United Nations against the Axis?

The journalistic history of the United States may be divided into four periods:

1. The Revolutionary or Free Press. Anyone with a few hundred dollars could print what he pleased—until stopped, but only temporarily, by the Alien and Sedition Act of our first native-reactionary leader, John Adams. A hand press, some paper, and a desire to say something were all that was required.

2. The Age of Expansion and Pioneering. It was the time of the great editors who from the days of the western migration and the Gold Rush to the time of the Spanish-American War put the impress of their personality on journalism. Dana, Greeley, et alii.

3. Commercialization. Dana, Greeley, et alii, were in turn succeeded by

Pulitzer, Hearst and Scripps. Hearst and Scripps created newspaper chains. At the turn of the century the press became commercial. Yellow journalism, or sensationalism for the sake of mass circulation, followed. This yellowness was superseded by the golden age of advertising. The press was commercial but it still was free.

4. The Age of Corruption. Although it is true that Will Irwin wrote his great series of exposés of the press (in *Collier's* magazine, then free from the control of the House of Morgan) in 1910, it was not until 1920 when Upton Sinclair wrote *The Brass Check,* that the American press could be labeled wholly corrupt. (Throughout this book the reader will remember that there are exceptions to this general indictment, that the indictment itself applies mainly to the big city press, the Big Money press, the 200 or 300 papers of metropoli, the press which makes public opinion, which helps run this country—for the benefit of the National Association of Manufacturers, according to the O'Mahoney Monopoly Committee. For two years readers of *In Fact,* including thousands of Newspaper Guild members, have been asked to send in the names of honest big city newspapers, but the list is still short of 1 percent of the total.)

The free press of the first five or six decades of the Republic was free to the point of irresponsibility. "If we are to take George Washington's own statement at face value," writes our greatest historian, Charles A. Beard, "it was scurrilous abuse by the press which drove him into retirement at the end of his second term." It is a human fact that the great of all times have been misjudged by their little contemporaries, and Washington was no exception, nevertheless the garbage and sewer quality of the campaign against our first president by a large part of the free press has never been surpassed in odor in our history. Like the proverbial dead mackeral, it glittered and stank. No tyrant, felon or pickpocket could have been more cruelly treated than was George Washington, and when he finally retired from the presidency, Bache's General Advertiser urged the people to exult, because "the name of Washington ceases to give currency to political iniquity and to legalized corruption." One who protested (shortly before he died) was Benjamin Franklin who wrote of the situation "Now many of our printers make no scruple of gratifying the malice of individuals by false accusations of the fairest characters among themselves, augmenting animosity even to the producing of duels, and are, moreover, so indiscreet as to print scurrilous reflections on the government of neighboring states, and even on the conduct of our best national allies, which may be attended with the most pernicious consequences."

Naturally enough there was no let-up when John Adams became president, although in many instances it was another set of journals which composed the journalistic wolf-pack. He too was vilified and his personal life made the subject of editorial falsehoods. One sheet actually printed this characterization of our second president: "A cold-thinking villain whose black blood runs temperately bad." But Adams could not take it, as Washington had, and he persuaded Congress to pass the Alien and Sedition Act under which he threw editors and publishers into jail.

The first great founding father who rightly estimated the power of the press and who became its greatest champion was Thomas Jefferson. It was he who rallied

James Madison and James Monroe and other liberals for the fight against the Sedition laws, and upon taking office freed the newspaper editors and publishers and let the legislation die.

Nevertheless Jefferson also was the victim of a vicious press.

The Federalists let loose their journalistic big guns upon a man they called an atheist, an anarchist, a theorist, a dictator, a lover of foreigners and a "leveler"; they abused him for favoring the French republicans, for welcoming Citizen Genet as minister in 1792; they "redbaited" him as a Jacobin. Jefferson and his friends were accused of publishing and disseminating all the "seditious, slanderous, demoralizing, atheistical publications" which the "industry and the wickedness of the Jacobins" could collect.

It is interesting to know Jefferson's opinion of the free press before he took office, during his presidency, and in his more objective later years. At the beginning he was the most optimistic believer in a free press. His views were:

"Our liberty depends on the freedom of the press and that cannot be limited without being lost."

"When the press is free, and every man able to read, all is safe."

"The people are the only censors of their government; and even their errors will tend to keep them on the true principles of their institutions. To punish these errors too severely would be to suppress the only safeguard of the public liberty. . . . The basis of our governments being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government, without newspapers, or newspapers without government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. But I should mean that every man should receive these papers, and be capable of reading them." (To Carrington, Paris, Jan. 16, 1787.)

And in 1799 Jefferson wrote: "Our citizens may be deceived for a while and have been deceived; but as long as the press can be protected, we may trust to them for light."

But in 1807 the tone changed. Jefferson wrote (to J. Norvell) against the irresponsibility of the newspapers:

"Nothing can now be believed which is seen in a newspaper. Truth itself becomes suspicious by being put into that polluted vehicle. The real extent of this state of misinformation is known only to those who are in situations to confront facts within their knowledge with the lies of the day. I really look with commiseration over the great body of my fellow citizens, who, reading newspapers, live and die in the belief that they have known something of what has been passing in the world in their time; whereas the accounts they have read in newspapers are just as true a history of any other period of the world as of the present, except that the real names of the day are affixed to their fables. General facts may indeed be collected from them, such as that Europe is now at war, that Bonaparte has been a successful warrior . . . but no details can be relied on. I will add that the man who never looks into a newspaper is better informed than he who reads them; inasmuch as he who knows nothing is nearer to truth than he whose mind is filled with falsehoods and errors. . . .

"Perhaps an editor might begin a reformation in some such way as this. Divide his paper into four chapters, heading the first, Truths; second, Probabilities; third, Possibilities; fourth, Lies. The first chapter would be very short."

And in 1812, to Dr. D. W. Jones:

"I deplore . . . the putrid state into which our newspapers have passed, and the malignity, the vulgarity, the mendacious spirit of those who write them. . . . These ordures are rapidly depraving the public taste."

Now, while it is true that Washington, Adams and Jefferson denounced the press with equal vigor, there is a great historic difference in the character of the attack upon each of the first three presidents. Washington had been accused by certain newspapers of accepting a bribe from England, whereas Jefferson had been accused of Jacobinism in much the same manner as F. D. Roosevelt had been accused (by crackpots, to be sure, rather than reputable newspapers) of being the agent of Moscow Communism.

The press attacks on Washington, Adams and Jefferson may have had the same decibel rating of loudness, the same vulgarity, the same scurrilousness and viciousness, but in the case of Jefferson a new note was already being sounded—the note which was to become the entire symphony of today's journalistic concert not only against a liberal president but against every regime, person and institution which is truly New Dealist progressive, truly democratic, destined for the general welfare rather than the vested interests; it was the note of alarm of the vested interests, the first faint cries of the Haves in fear of the Havenots, the first shouts of Privilege against any and all who might threaten wealth and power. Jefferson knew this. He knew the press was not attacking him, but Democracy. He foresaw perhaps the present era when the press would be the great weapon of all native Fascist forces working against the extension of democracy.

3 CAN YOU FOOL ALL THE PEOPLE ALL THE TIME?

So long as it was possible for an itinerant printer or any tiny minority possessing a few hundred dollars to set up shop and issue a newspaper, there was no monopoly of public opinion. And there was no corrupt press. In Boston, in New York, in colonial days, and later in Washington, and in every city and town in the wake of the pioneers marching westward, wandering printers kept alive the free press and produced the most picturesque era in the nation's journalism. It was still possible toward the end of the 19th century to get out a newspaper without being a millionaire in a big city, or a company with a soul mortgaged to the banker in a small town. But, as William Allen White—the man always chosen to prove the publishers' claim the press still has integrity—now confesses, it takes a comparatively large bank roll to start a paper anywhere—his own *Emporia Gazette* is worth $70,000, and if a man with another viewpoint wanted to start an opposition sheet in Emporia it would involve a

much greater sum. In Chicago or New York it would mean the risk of a million dollars a year for many years.

Mr. White does not disagree with Frank Munsey, the great newspaper wrecker whom he saved from oblivion with the famous phrase: he turned a great profession into an 8 percent investment. The indictment goes even further, and in its proper place Mr. White's final strictures will be given. The fact is now accepted that the newspaper is big business. Whether it is therefore ipso facto corrupt because big business is corrupt is still being debated. The present writer has no doubts on this matter.

One of the epiphenomenal pieces of hypocrisy is the statement made by *Editor & Publisher* and other kept voices of the publishers that the integrity, honesty and freedom of the press (and also of the Associated Press, its main source of news) must exist because it serves "every" viewpoint. By every is meant Republican and Democratic parties. For good measure, the publishers throw in what they call "Independent Republican" and "Independent Democrat," and also just plain "independent." Believe it or not, they still use those terms and still make those claims after two elections in which 85 to 95 percent of the press (outside the Solid South) urged the people to vote against Mr. Roosevelt and the New Deal, and many papers, including the *New York Times,* switched parties because all the big advertising money was on the side of the opposition. And they also make their claim in the face of the reports of the directors of the National Electric Light Association that they corrupted four-fifths of the American press with their $25,000,000 a year blackmail and advertising fund.

There is only one viewpoint which the entire press of the nation expresses, respects, represents and works for: the viewpoint of business, money, wealth, and power represented by what is generally known as the God of Things As They Are, or the Status Quo. The press has been united almost to a paper in defending existing conditions and opposing not only some radical plan for change but even all those mild reforms which friends of big money and the status quo, the latest of whom is Franklin Delano Roosevelt, have initiated for the double purpose of helping the Havenots and saving and preserving the system of the Haves.

We have all heard preachers and orators, and even impassioned senators roaring in favor of higher taxes on the poor, make that trite remark about Jesus being crucified again if he were alive today. The newspapers would have branded Jesus a red and screamed for his arrest; their headlines, cartoons and editorials would have justified both trial and verdict. But one does not have to go that far back. If Jefferson stood up and read the Declaration of Independence in some public square in America today, writes Boston journalist Harold Putnam, he would forthrightly be jailed; he would be subpoenaed by the Dies committee, catalogued by the F.B.I., and smeared by the reactionary elements of the American press for giving 20th century voice to some of the 18th century quotations.

Lincoln believed that a laborer was entitled to the fruits of his labor. Wendell Philips believed that no man had the right to make a profit on the labor of any other man. Lincoln and Philips and Franklin D. Roosevelt believe in the right of labor to form unions, nevertheless unless you take a chance of being tarred and feathered

Millions of newspaper readers are influenced by a hoodlum-minded columnist named Pegler. Generally he merely distorts the facts against labor, poisons the minds of his readers. In this case (below) he lied. So did McCutcheon, cartoonist of the Chicago Tribune.

THE ULTIMATE WINNER

PEGLER IS A LIAR

The CIO News has turned up documentary proof that Pegler lies. Just before going on vacation he wrote:

" . . . This comes on the letterhead of Local 1950 of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee of the CIO, the same group which a few years ago kicked up a local insurrection against constituted government in South Chicago in which the Chicago police, having retired to the very gates of the steel plant, finally stood their ground for a fight in which 11 rioters, shoved into the forefront by professional instigators in the rear, lost their lives. None of the victims were employed by the company and the attack was a civil commotion intended to force actual workers to join the union against their will. . . . "

BUT

A report of the Committee on Education and Labor states:

" . . . Yet Captain Mooney, without consulting the commissioner, reached his decision to prevent the Memorial Day marchers from approaching the plant before he had an opportunity to observe their conduct and in the absence of any information as to their intentions."

"The police defend this conduct upon their ex post facto conclusions that the objective of the marchers was to force a violent entry into the plant. We have analyzed the defense in detail above and have concluded that it is groundless. We are of the opinion that the sole objective of the marchers was to picket in mass at the plant gate."

THE GUILD REPORTER, MARCH 15, 1942

A FAIR-ENOUGH STUDY IN REPORTS

ARY 27, 1942

Fair Enough

By Westbrook Pegler

Birmingham Post Strike

HAVING SOMETIMES published letters from common Americans complaining of persecutions suffered at the hands of the licensed brownshirts who operate under the Wagner Act, I think it would be fair and interesting today to publish one expressing the other side of the case. This comes on the letterhead of Local 1950 of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee of the C. I. O., the same group which a few years ago kicked up a local insurrection against constituted government in South Chicago in which the Chicago police, having retired to the very gates of the steel plant, finally stood their ground for a fight in which 11 rioters, shoved into the forefront by professional instigators in the rear, lost their lives. None of the victims was employed by the steel company and the attack was a civil commotion intended to force the actual workers to join the union against their will.

Local 1950 is a Cincinnati group and the letter, dated February 8, is signed in ink, "A. J. Waichold, secretary."

"The Birmingham Post strikers have emerged victorious from their strike for a semblance of living wage and a decent standard of [illegible]

VIOLATIONS OF FREE SPEECH AND RIGHTS OF LABOR

REPORT

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

"....Yet Captain Mooney, without consulting the Commissioner, reached his decision to prevent the Memorial Day marchers from approaching the plant before he had any opportunity to observe their conduct and in the absence of any information as to their intentions.

"The police defend this conduct upon their ex post facto conclusion that the objective of the marchers was to force a violent entry into the plant. We have analyzed the defense in detail above and have concluded that it is groundless. We are of the opinion that the sole objective of the marchers was to picket in mass at the plant gate."

"....We conclude that the consequences of the Memorial Day encounter were clearly avoidable by the police."

ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE, JR.

ELBERT D. THOMAS [illegible]

if you are white, or lynched if you are black, you cannot speak for the labor unions in at least one-fourth of the area of the United States. (If you want proof, ask the Rev. Claude Williams or consult the records of the several civil liberties organizations or the findings of the LaFollette committee; or read the labor press.)

The change that has come over America is this: that beneath the uproar the press made in our early history, the motivation was not money, it was not commercial. Today the press is motivated almost entirely by the motive of profit for itself and its backers. (William Allen White confirms this.) This profit motive not only affects the handling of all the news about labor, "defense" strikes, wage increases, the whole problem of taxation, a large part of the legislation of state and nation, but it also affects the news of world events.

Let me give you in perhaps too condensed form a few examples, each deserving a whole volume. They are chosen because in each instance the press fooled all the people; it was impossible for any American unless he was a reader of one of the half-dozen liberal weeklies, each with a circulation of thirty or forty thousand, to know the truth, whereas the falsehood spread by the slander press in two of the three cases led very close to bloodshed, if not open warfare.

From personal experience the case of Mexico was the most revealing. From 1909 to 1916 I had been a Pittsburgh newspaper reporter; from 1916 to 1933 I worked in Europe, but in 1927 the *Chicago Tribune* sent me to Mexico to make an investigation. I knew almost nothing about Mexico. I was able, therefore, to approach it with an unusually open and objective mind.

The first thing a newspaper man does on entering a foreign capital is to find out all he can from resident newspaper men. (A procedure dubbed "ear-biting" by *New York World* writer Sam Spewack, now a successful playwright.) I bit all possible ears.

The Hearst man in Mexico suggested that I keep quiet about a method I had learned in Syria of repelling bandit attacks on trains. There was a double rebellion on in Mexico, the usual revolt of generals bribed by U. S. and British oil money, plus, for a change, a revolt of the Cristeros, or militant Catholics, and Mr. Hearst's man wanted the Catholics to overthrow the republic.

The United Press man, with a pocketful of forged documents libeling everything Mexican, said: "I'll blow this government to pieces when I get to Texas."

The *New York Times* man said: "There is only one side to this story: we are all anti-Calles." Calles was then the great reformist president; later he got rich and became a reactionary.

An Associated Press man said: "I am hoping for victory (for the oil-company paid generals and the Cristeros) in three months."

There were nine or ten American newspaper correspondents in Mexico. All but one were in town. All were anti-government; all wanted the regime which had separated Church and State and which had given land to the peasants to be destroyed. This is what they told me:

"Calles is not a Mexican; he is an Arab, a Syrian. He is a Bolshevik. He gets his orders from Moscow. He is the American head of the Third International."

"Calles is a fanatic against the Roman Catholic Church. He is a high degree

Mason. He is a leading member of the Ku Klux Klan, an agent of that American organization. Calles is stealing the wealth of the Church. He is not aiding the peasants. He is stealing the oil from the American oil companies, not restoring it to the people."

"Calles is a crook. All he is doing is making millions which he is investing in mines and in land in Sonora. He doesn't give a damn for the Mexican people."

These, and much worse, were the statements made to me by the entire press corps in Mexico City.

Colonel McLemore, publisher of a Texas paper, told me that Calles went to Moscow just before he became president and received Bolshevik instructions, was made head of the Third International, American section, and instructed about seizing the oil lands and also silver and copper mines (owned by Yanquis). Peter W. Collins, lecturer for the Knights of Columbus, said the same and worse, adding religious propaganda.

The American ambassador to Mexico told me confidentially and not for publication that the Mexican government was Bolshevik because it was dividing the land (stolen from the Mexicans by Standard Oil and other American corporations, only the ambassador said "bought," not "stolen") among the people of Mexico, under the Constitution of 1917.

A secretary of the U. S. embassy said when I mentioned the names of several Americans who had expressed sympathy for the regime, that these men and women were "skunks, liars and traitors to the U.S."

For about two weeks it was the same story: everyone from the embassy to the newspaper crowd, including the business men, the bankers, and the rich Mexican families to whom I was introduced by newspaper men, agreed that Mexico was a branch of the Moscow government; that a murderous crime had been committed in dividing the land and restoring the mines to the nation; that Calles was a crook; that the U.S. should march in immediately either to restore the old system or take over the country forever.

Every reporter in Mexico was sending out this sort of news. Every line of news out of Mexico was anti-Mexican. Everyone in America therefore had his mind poisoned about Mexico. It was certainly possible in this instance to fool all the people.

I became acquainted with Dr. Ernest Gruening, Charles W. Erwin, Howard Phillips, Frances Toor and other Americans in Mexico. And this is what they agreed on:

That everything said at the embassy was a lie.

That everything sent out by the entire American press corps (with the exception of the news from the one man who was on vacation when I arrived) was a lie.

That Calles was a great emancipator. He had never been to Moscow, but had visited (Social-Democratic) Berlin in the early 1920's; that he was not even a Socialist, but a sincere reformer. He was not fighting Catholicism, but separating Church and State, taking the hierarchy out of politics and land ownership. . . .

Etcetera. Etcetera to the extent of millions of words, all the exact opposite of the millions of words uttered by the embassy and the press corps.

(It so happened that Calles some years later was deported by the Cardenas regime

because he too had eaten of the root of all evil and had later devoted himself to making a million dollars rather than the general welfare of the Mexican peons, but that is another story, and a much later story. The time I was there Calles was a sort of Lincoln and F. D. Roosevelt; a freer of peons and a great New Dealer, and he had not yet deserted the people.)

When I returned to Chicago in the summer of 1927 I wrote a series of 20 articles on Mexico, a pro and con on ten subjects. For example, I wrote one headed "Why the U. S. Should Seize Mexico" and another "Why the U. S. Should Not Seize Mexico," giving a summary of the views of both sides. The first half-dozen appeared in the *Chicago Tribune,* but after that only those articles giving the anti-Mexican viewpoint were published. I went back to Europe, glad to escape nearness to the *Tribune* editorial rooms—which direct the policy in all things American, but which let European correspondents enjoy considerable liberty.

Years later in Congress the story was told how a few members, the liberals such as LaFollette, Norris, Huddleston, Borah, aided by the *New York World* and *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and the liberal weeklies *The Nation* and *The New Republic,* had exposed a plot of special interest to provoke war with Mexico in 1927. The reason I had been sent there was because the *Tribune's* owner, Col. McCormick, wanted a war correspondent on the spot when hostilities began, and he had foreknowledge that the attack was ready.

From the day the native-Fascist dictator, Porfirio Diaz, was overthrown in Mexico, a movement began in the United States to destroy each anti-Fascist leader as he rose to power. Carranza, Villa, Madero, Calles and Cardenas have been victims of this war-mongering.

The newspapers never informed their readers of the motives behind these campaigns which advocated every action from temporary intervention to permanent occupation of Mexico. You had to read the independent weeklies or the non-fiction books (which sold a few hundred to a few thousand copies) to get the truth. The truth was that the following elements favored war:

1. The newspapers themselves, notably the Hearst press, the *Los Angeles Times,* some Texas and other border papers, the *New York Herald Tribune* and the *Chicago Tribune.* In every instance but the last, the newspaper owners were also owners of land, ranches, silver mines or oil fields in Mexico, or stocks and bonds which were affected by the existence of an anti-Fascist regime.

2. The Standard Oil, Royal Dutch Shell and other oil interests and also copper and other mining interests which stood to lose money if a Fascist regime were not restored, and which used their great advertising and political pressure in the newspapers and Congress for intervention and war.

3. The Knights of Columbus and other religious groups which opposed the anti-state church movement in Mexico.

The press, however, was the main war-mongering element.

President Wilson recognized this fact in 1916. In 1914 he had sent General Pershing into Mexico with orders to capture Villa, who had raided a border town and killed some Americans. (Later historical research established the fact the Villa

raid had been organized by Americans to provoke a war.) Villa eluded capture. The press campaign for war increased.

On March 26, 1916 President Wilson accused the press of lying about Mexico in order to start a war. He laid the campaign of falsehood to "vested interests," using a phrase coined by the Singletaxer Henry George—and added:

"The object of this traffic in falsehood is obvious.

"It is to create intolerable friction between the government of the United States and the de facto government of Mexico for the purpose of bringing about intervention in the interests of certain American owners of Mexican properties. (Unfortunately Mr. Wilson did not have the courage to name William Randolph Hearst, Harry Chandler, the Rockefellers, Lord Cowdray. If you don't name names you lose most of the effect.)

"The people of the United States should know the sinister and unscrupulous influences that are afoot, and should be on their guard against crediting any story coming from the border, and those who disseminate the news should make it a matter of patriotism and of conscience to test the source and authenticity of every report they receive from that quarter."

For ten years the war movement simmered. In 1926 the State Department planted a fake story in all the papers via the Associated Press aimed to provoke trouble, if not war.

To summarize:

For the past thirty years American public opinion has been turned against Mexico by the press, pulpit, movies, and other means of inflaming emotions, at times it has aroused hatred and led to intervention, and almost to war.

The *Los Angeles Times* has preached annexation, war.

The two most powerful eastern papers, *New York Times* and *New York Herald Tribune,* have been anti-Mexico.

The *Chicago Tribune* has favored annexation, war.

Twenty or more Hearst papers such as the *San Francisco Examiner, Call-Bulletin,* the *Los Angeles Examiner, Boston American, Chicago Herald-American, New York Journal-American, Detroit Times,* etc., and the Hearst *Cosmopolitan* magazine and other publications, also the Hearst news reels, have preached hatred of Mexico, favored intervention, occupation, annexation, and war.

What are the commercial, profit-seeking, dollar-chasing money-above-human-rights motives of the American publishers? The following may supply the answer:

1. Chandler, owner *Los Angeles Times:* inherited 650,000 acres of Mexican land from his father-in-law, General Otis, who got the land in a deal with Dictator Diaz—when Diaz was selling out his country to foreigners. When the dictator was upset by the patriots Zapata, Madero and Carranza, they tried to restore land, minerals and oil to the republic. Otis could not run his cattle across the border in time, so the *Los Angeles Times* began a campaign for war with Mexico, or at least the establishment of a Northern Mexican Republic which would include his 650,000 acres. Chandler, according to Upton Sinclair, was once indicted for conspiracy to ship arms into Mexico, but was acquitted. Chandler added to his Mexican holdings. He

launched a syndicate which bought 862,000 acres in Lower California, Mexico. (*Time*, July 15, 1935.)

2. Hearst. Holding in Mexico enormous. Barbicora ranch estimated at 220,000 acres. Also chicle plantations.

3. Ogden Reid, *New York Herald Tribune:*

Standard Oil of California	3,073 shares	$109,475
Standard Oil of Indiana	3,660	91,500
Standard Oil of New Jersey	7,000	252,000
Mexican Seaboard Oil	5,000	68,750
Guanajuato Power & Light bonds		114,810

(Documentation: Appraisal of estate of Mrs. Whitelaw Reid; filed May 25, 1934; stocks and bonds appraised at $16,210,809; the heirs, Publisher Reid and his sister, Lady Ward of England, had received gifts previously indicating an estate of possibly $50,000,000.)

4. Arthur Hays Sulzberger, owner, publisher, *New York Times.* There is no record of Mr. Sulzberger owning stocks in Rockefeller oil companies, but whenever Mexico is in the news the *Times* sends its representative to 30 Rockefeller Plaza to get the Standard Oil Co. statement which later appears as "Oil Men Say." Editorially and in biased news the *Times* has been more unfair to Mexico than the *Herald Tribune,* which is financially interested; and *Times* men have been expelled from Mexico for dishonest coverage. One of them was trying to get an oil concession.

5. McCormick, *Chicago Tribune.* There is also no record of financial interest in Mexico; it may be pure militarism on the part of the Colonel, or friendship for the oil crowd; but the *Tribune* has been the leading war-monger against Mexico in the Mid-West.

6. *New York Daily News* (Capt. Joseph Medill Patterson). This paper, owned jointly by McCormick and Patterson—the latter a renegade Socialist—has the largest circulation in America (2,000,000 daily, 4,000,000 Sunday), nevertheless it has no social responsibilities. It is one of the most ignorant and illiterate newspapers in the world. There is no record of Patterson, editor and publisher, having financial interests in Mexico or Standard Oil, therefore the only conclusion is that the series of outright lies, mixed falsehoods, half-truths and vicious and perverted propaganda against Mexico published in this tabloid is motivated by irresponsibility, ignorance and social and economic illiteracy.

7. *Atlantic Monthly.* Under the editorship of Ellery Sedgwick, Boston literary light and member of the intelligentsia, this magazine supported the Fascist murderer General Franco. At the same time it sold its back pages for a series of advertisements thinly veiled as articles, each boosting a corporation. Naturally enough a publication venal enough to engage in such practices would support the oil and other American interests fighting Mexican liberalism. The *Atlantic Monthly* published a special pamphlet against Mexico.

The most important fact behind all these facts is this: the American newspaper and magazine press (with a handful of liberal publications the exception) united in fooling all America on the Mexican question and did it for commercial reasons. The owners, editors and publishers, were in most cases financially interested in exploiting

Mexico or in taking the advertising money of Standard Oil and other exploiters of the poor Mexicans. For thirty years this press lied about Mexico and on three great occasions ran a tremendous war-mongering campaign. There were two invasions of Mexico (the seizure of Vera Cruz and Pershing's march after Pancho Villa) and a steady series of threatening notes from the State Department, which was under the domination of Standard Oil, but the annexation of Mexico, the ultimate objective of Hearst, Chandler, McCormick, Patterson, Sedgwick and other war-mongers, did not take place, thanks to the protests of liberals.

All the American people were fooled all the time by a press motivated by nothing but personal interest in money.

The money motive was hidden from about 98 percent of the American people; but in this case it was plain to the 2 percent intelligent enough to doubt the truthfulness of the press and to seek the truth in the half-dozen honest newspapers and the free liberal magazines.

However, in two other great instances where the press fooled all the people, the motive was not as clear. It was a question of philosophy, of opposing a new political, social and economic system which abolished the profit or money motive, and could not be traced as easily as Hearst's million dollar investment in Mexico to Hearst's anti-Mexican policy. Only in the case of Paris newspapers, whose owners also owned 6 percent bonds of the Russian Tsarist empire, could it be said that forfeiture of dividend payment on these bonds resulted in a campaign of lies in the Paris press against the Soviet Russian system.

In America the two big series of fraudulent stories aimed to poison the minds of all the people were dated 1917-1920 and again 1939, although there never was a year from 1917 to 1941 when the majority of our newspapers and magazines did not falsify the news from Russia.

It is one of life's little ironies that the first great exposure of the lies of the press should have been written by two liberal newspapermen who later became the big money writers of the most reactionary among the most powerful newspapers of the country. Dated August 4, 1920 there appeared a pamphlet entitled *A Test of the News* written by Walter Lippmann (one-time member of the Socialist Party, and now syndicated columnist of the Republican *New York Herald Tribune)* and Charles Merz, now editor of the *New York Times.* Both were editors of the *New Republic,* which issued the pamphlet as a supplement. Ironically enough, the newspaper used to test the news—and show that it was a series of falsehoods—was the *New York Times,* of which Merz is now chief editorial writer. The *Times* was chosen not because it was the worst offender; on the contrary, it was one of the smallest offenders, and yet almost everything that appeared in that paper from March, 1917 to March, 1920 dealing with Russia was either a half-truth or a whole falsehood. Other papers published mostly whole falsehoods, and only the *New York World,* the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* and perhaps one or two others, printed news which could be called truthful.

I have already discussed the 1920 pamphlet in *Freedom of the Press.* The investigation showed that the *Times* reported the end of the Soviets, or their "tottering," exactly ninety-one times in three years; the *Times* surrendered Petrograd to the White

SOVIET FLIERS BOMB CIVILIANS IN WAVES

Destruction of Hospital Area and Attacks on Refugees Mark Stalin's Birthday

Cities Bombed, Finns Repulse Army Attacks

'Celebrate' Stalin's Birthday by Halting Foe on Three Fronts

By BOSMAN B. BEUEL
Special From Staff Correspondent

HELSINKI, Dec. 21.—Soviet planes roaring in three waves along the south coast of Finland today, machine-gunned two trains, Finnish officials said, and bombed principal Finnish cities, including the Helsinki hospital district.

But as the Red air force operated against a bright blue sky Finnish

Soviet Threat to Destroy Helsinki During Holidays Dropped From Air

Leaflet Demands Backing for Kuusinen—Writer Tells of Seeing Russian Fliers Fire on Civilians Deliberately

By M. J. ERKKILUND
Special Cable to The New York Times.

HELSINKI, Finland, Dec. 23—If their black helmets and gauntlets. One was so low that his machine

HELSINKI Dec 23 (AP)—Russians in pamphlets dropped by invading fliers today threatened to bomb Helsinki to destruction if she did not surrender by 1 P. M. (6 A. M. E. S. T.).

A Finnish spokesman said he understood the pamphlets carried threats of "terrible" Christmas Eve and Christmas Day attacks unless the Finns capitulated.

The deadline already has passed without surrender.

Of the threatened raids the spokesman asserted

RUSSIANS RETREAT IN ARCTIC FROM FINNS, COLD AND SNOW; RAID HELSINKI HOSPITAL ZONE

New York Post

7th SPORTS COMPLETE FINANCIAL

REDS BOMB HELSINKI HOSPITALS; INVADERS IN RETREAT IN ARCTIC

Reds Threaten to Raze Helsinki Unless City Yields

NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1939.

New York World-Telegram

CLOSING WALL ST. PRICES

RED FLIERS BLAST TRAINS, HOSPITAL

Plea of President Kallio

By The United Press.

HELSINKI, Finland, Jan. 9—Following is the text of President Kyosti Kallio's protest of the Russian aerial bombardment of civilians:

I bid you welcome to this country as representatives of the press. I know you will present to your own people an unbiased picture of the conditions here and also of the methods of warfare adopted by Bolshevist Russia and her attack on this small nation.

There is no need for me to point out to you the part Finland has played in this war, but there is every reason for me at this moment to appeal to you, and through you, to public opinion all over the world in the name of humanity in behalf of the Finnish people.

The Soviet Union is not content to wage war in customary fashion on our army, but daily they send their aircraft behind the front to destroy our homes and kill our peaceful citizens. This, I am sure, must seem to you an incredible proceeding on the part of a State which has undertaken to observe the principles recognized by international cooperation, but Finland has again experienced to the fullest that agreements mean nothing at all to the rulers of Russia.

100 Localities Bombed

Their ruthless methods have not, it is true, broken the will of our people, although during the first month of war the invader has bombarded about 100 localities [illegible] most of

Losses caused, in view of the fact that nearly 4,000 bombs have been dropped and machine guns used, are relatively small. This is due to a variety of [illegible] we succeeded within a short period of time to organize our air-raid precaution system so that it answers the purpose. But although the losses caused are relatively [illegible]

In one month 234 civilians have been killed, 269 seriously injured and 210 slightly wounded. If we take further into account that churches, even worshipers [illegible] churches, hospitals and hospital trains, scientific institutes, historic memorials and private houses have been made objectives of aerial bombardments, we see clearly enough the nature of his method of warfare.

Against this work of destruction the nation has equipped itself with all possible speed by procuring new means of defense. About 170 enemy machines with their crews have already been brought down and our power of resistance at present is quickly increasing, thanks also to the many valuable anti-aircraft weapons we captured from the enemy.

I do not wish in this connection to go into details, for already the facts I have stated prove that we would amply be justified in making use of a new appeal to the League of Nations.

But there is reason above all for you representatives of the press who are able to see with your own eyes in what manner the Soviet Union is waging war in this era of civilization to draw the attention of the world to these circumstances.

Outnumbered Six to One

For more than one month we have fought an enemy six times our size. I could lay before you many statistics, of course, of this struggle, which has served merely to steel and unite a nation, but I regard this as unnecessary, for you follow daily our communiqués and personally, [illegible] your colleagues [illegible] correspondents.

My present purpose is to draw your attention to the inhuman treatment by the Soviet Union of our civilian population behind the front, where women, aged and young, heroically maintain the course of our daily existence while the manhood of the nation defends our frontiers.

Naturally [illegible] our utmost to check the invader, but seeing that civilized nations are sacrificing their means to assist this suffering nation, I appeal to you as representatives of culture to raise your voices throughout the world against the ruthless use by Russia of aircraft against defenseless civilians.

I venture to address this appeal to you on behalf of the nation because you know we are defending our common western civilization, also your liberty and the future of your homes.

About 99% of the American press lied to its 40,000,000 newspaper buyers about the Russo-Finnish conflict. Since 1917 our press has been anti-Russian. There have been 25 years of falsehood, but the best chance was afforded by the war. Civilians were never bombed, hospitals were never attacked, but the press invented atrocities to make propaganda for Fascist Finland.

Deuel, Home from Finland, Relates Conditions There

EDITOR & PUB'R

U.P. Staffer, First Newsman To Return, Tells of Coverage Difficulties March 16 1940

First U. S. war correspondent to return from Finland since the Russo-Finnish war started Nov. 30, Norman B. Deuel, United Press staffer with the Finnish forces, arrived March 8 in New York aboard the liner Bergensfjord, accompanied by Mrs Deuel.

Norman B. Deuel

He appeared fully recovered from an attack of influenza which felled him in Helsingfors for a week in January.

After a visit of several weeks with his family in Chico, Calif., where his father is co-publisher of the *Record*, the Deuels will move to Washington where he will join the U.P. bureau.

Underwent Air Raid

One of the first U. S. newsmen in Helsinki before hostilities started, Mr. Deuel underwent the first Russian air raid of the Finnish capital on Nov. 30. He had stopped in the city on his way back to the states after representing the U.P. in Moscow for four years, and had stayed on when fighting seemed imminent.

He painted a dreary picture of wartime conditions in the little country since the Russian invasion and said coverage of the war, his first such experience, was "a tough assignment."

He attributed that to Finnish censorship, poor communications and transportation. Blackouts and the extreme cold constituted the physical discomforts, he said.

Greatest difficulty faced by U. S. newsmen covering the story was "getting their stuff out of Finland," he said. The Finns lacked a competent liaison man between the military and the press and, in the early days of the war, there was much confusion in Helsinki because of this situation.

Finn's Press Relations Poor

All information was given to the press in daily press conferences, which consisted largely of passing out of military communiques. For color and the general pictures of any situation, newsmen contacted Finnish officers.

Mr. Deuel often was under fire coming and going between Helsinki and the front, and other groups of correspondents.

He passed one brief but revealing remark on his four years of coverage in Moscow in stating that "anyone staying in Moscow any length of time is subject to a mental depression from the dirt, poverty and the rigorous police system."

Mr. Deuel joined the U.P.

Take a Look

My Post, May 27-40

By W. L. White

Why London and Paris Escape Bombing

By W. L. WHITE

A word about terror from the skies, sudden death that comes bringing the war to a close. It failed not because the Finns are more [illegible] than the British, but because the Finns lacked the [illegible] equipment. Finland is happily [illegible] from the shelling and bombing [illegible] Russians are [illegible] accurate [illegible] meaning [illegible] do your [illegible] ever. [illegible] Russian [illegible] raids [illegible] was [illegible] most of [illegible] raids

a few days. Just maybe the cathedral or the asylum was uncomfortably close to a railway station, a wharf, a railway junction, a bridge or some other legitimate military objective.

When I was in Fnland all us American correspondents got badly sucked in on a story about a Russian bombing attack on a beautiful but obsolete old 10th century castle in Obo[illegible], as it turned out later, was part [illegible] was about a hundred yards from a wharf onto which the Finns were unloading military supplies from abroad, and which was therefore fair game for bombers in any kind of [illegible]

non-payment of assessments.

Four Correspondents Honored

The members paused in their deliberations to pay signal honor to four AP war correspondents home on vacation from Europe and the Orient. Departing from their long-established [illegible] listened to first-hand accounts of the war by their staff men.

EDITOR & PUBLISHER April 27 1940

The correspondents at the speakers' table with the AP president and directors were C. Yates McDaniel, who came from Hong Kong; J. C. Stark, chief of bureau in London; Wade Werner, Copenhagen chief of bureau; and Lloyd Lehrbas, who was the AP correspondent in Warsaw when that [illegible] captured by the German

the neighbo[illegible], Mr. Werner declared. "Censored dispatches from Finland naturally were top-heavy with damage to schools and hospitals, with casualties among civilians rather than among soldiers.

"Yet, I honestly believe the Bolsheviks were not deliberately trying to bomb civilians. I honestly doubt wh[illegible] any bi[illegible] present

[illegible] terrific and inexplicable pressure.

Helsinki Raid Casualties: 2 Crows Dead, 1 Wounded

By The United Press.

HELSINKI, Finland, Dec. 19—The police described the casualties of today's air raid on the environs of Helsinki as:

"Two crows dead and one wounded crow, which was taken to a first-aid station and revived."

JULY 10, 1941 OPINION 21

Newspaper men rarely confess their errors. Newspapers rarely print corrections. But apparently the fact they were challenged on their falsehoods from Finland resulted in some small concessions to truth in 1940. After Finland joined Nazi-Germany, with which it had always been linked through the mass-murderer Mannerheim, the press began to cool towards this Fascist-dominated nation.

Russian generals six times. The Russian capital was also "on the verge of capture" another three times; it was also burned down twice, and in state of panic another two times. Petrograd (according to the *Times* and that means according to the Associated Press and according to all the morning papers in America) revolted against the Bolsheviki six times. From 1919 to 1920 the *Times* (and all newspapers) reported victory after victory of Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel and other generals, each of whom became the White (Russian) hope of the American press. Between them these hopes captured three or four times as many million Bolshevik soldiers as existed; yet, somehow, each of the generals suddenly disappeared in defeat or death.

Lippmann and Merz concluded that "the news as a whole is dominated by the hopes of the men who composed the news organizations. . . . In the large, the news about Russia is a case of seeing not what was, but what men wanted to see. . . . The chief censor and the chief propagandist were hope and fear in the minds of reporters and editors. They wanted to win the war; . . . the reporting of the Russian Revolution is nothing short of disaster. On the essential questions the net effect was almost always misleading, and misleading news is worse than none at all. . . ."

Mr. Adolph Ochs, owner of the *Times,* probably owned no Tsarist bonds, as did Paris, London and other newspaper owners, but Mr. Ochs faked the news from Russia with the same enthusiasm. The Associated Press spread the lies to its more than a thousand clients. The United Press and Hearst International News Service served the same lies. It was indeed an exceptional day when a report from Frazier Hunt or the late Lincoln Eyre in the *World* and *Post-Dispatch* as much as hinted that there were two sides to the biggest story in the world. It is fair to say that the press fooled all the people on Russia.

Between the years 1922 and the present, after the Soviets revised their policy of not permitting foreign correspondents to visit the country, there were times when the news was pretty honest. One of the curiosities of this period is the pro-Bolshevik reporting of such men as William Henry Chamberlin of the *Christian Science Monitor,* Eugene Lyons of the United Press, Louis Fischer of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency and later of the *Nation,* also the magazine writer Max Eastman, each of them redder than the rose, each of them more Bolshevik than the Bolsheviki, and today four of the loudest snipers and lowest smearers of the same Soviet system. Like most brasscheckers they too went over to the side of redbaiting, money, security, and status quo respectability. And like all renegades they have made the ideals and enthusiasms of their youth the main objective of their aging hatred.

There is no room here even to list the forgeries which accompanied the years of lying about Russia—such stories as the nationalization of women, ten thousand fake atrocities, the Zinovieff letter, for examples. This kind of palpable falsehood falls of its own weight; but the falsehoods of the Associated Press, the *New York Times,* and the rest of the papers which Lippmann and Merz exposed, had wings which carried them around the world.

One would think that in the two decades between the Russo-Polish war and the Russo-Finnish war the American public would have been enough disillusioned in its faith in the press, so that it would protest a repetition of the 1917-1920 situation. But, no. When the Finnish war began the entire American press (and when I say

entire I make exceptions for one or two big papers) again succeeded in fooling all the American people.

Of the three greatest international lies of our generation, the 1917 European War lie that we were fighting "to make the world safe for democracy," the 1936 Spanish War lie, that it was a Christian Crusade, and the 1939 Russo-Finnish War lie, that the Russians bombed civilians in Helsinki, the capital of "poor little democratic Finland," the first two have already been exposed by the march of history.

American entry into the European War, the Nye-Vandenberg investigation proved beyond the doubt of anyone but the hired editorial writers of *Time* and the *New York Times,* was brought about by the cracking financial system and war pressure, largely through the efforts of the House of Morgan; the Fascist rebellion in Spain was paid for by the landowners, the Duke of Alba who is the British Duke of Berwick, Juan March and other big industrialists, the Rio Tinto mine owners in Madrid and London, and similar commercial interests. In 1939 there was every reason to believe that the campaign of falsehood against Russia was promoted by the Cliveden Set of Britain, by Chamberlain, by Rudolf Hess and other Nazis who were certain Britain and the United States could be linked with Germany in a "holy crusade against Bolshevism."

Beginning November 30, 1939, and continuing through December, the world press, and notably the American, succeeded in fooling the entire people with a continued story headlined *Bombardment of Civilians by Russians.* Actually it would have been possible for intelligent readers who were not military experts to detect the fraud in a few words within the stories themselves. For instance, the *New York Times* story dated December 1 from Copenhagen stated that Russian planes were "aiming at the terminus" (page 1, paragraph 6), or in the subhead, "Air field bombed first" or the phrase "the airport at Malm (meaning Malmi) was hit." But so far as I know there is not more than one military expert to a million Americans, and if there are 130 military experts writing for the press, not one of them pointed out the obvious fact that an air raid which is directed at railroad stations, docks, shipping installations, airfields and other military objectives is not an air raid against civilians, it is not an atrocity, and that the headlines in all the American papers for months saying the opposite were falsehoods.

The *London Times* reported December 2 of four more raids, that "some of the bombs had set fire to the oil and naval docks . . . a few hit military objectives" but the United Press—which is still trying to explain away the greatest fake story in the history of the world, Roy Howard's False Armistice on November 7, 1918—sent a story from Helsinki which Roy Howard's *World-Telegram* (anti-C.I.O., anti-Newspaper Guild, anti-labor and pro-Howard profits) spread over its front page under these headlines

RUSSIANS BOMB HELSINGFORS;
FIRES RAGE; HUNDREDS KILLED

"Red planes," reported Norman B. Duell, "roared out of cloudy skies throughout the day and in mid-afternoon unloaded a hail of thermite bombs on the dazed

"IT ALL COMES BACK TO HIM NOW!"

—Bruce Russell in *Los Angeles Times.*

Berryman for Washington Sta

SPEAKING OF SACRIFICES

Manning for Phoenix Republic and Gazette

WHAT PRICE GLORY?

Brown in New York Herald-Tribu

AN UNEXPECTED COOLING-OFF PROCESS

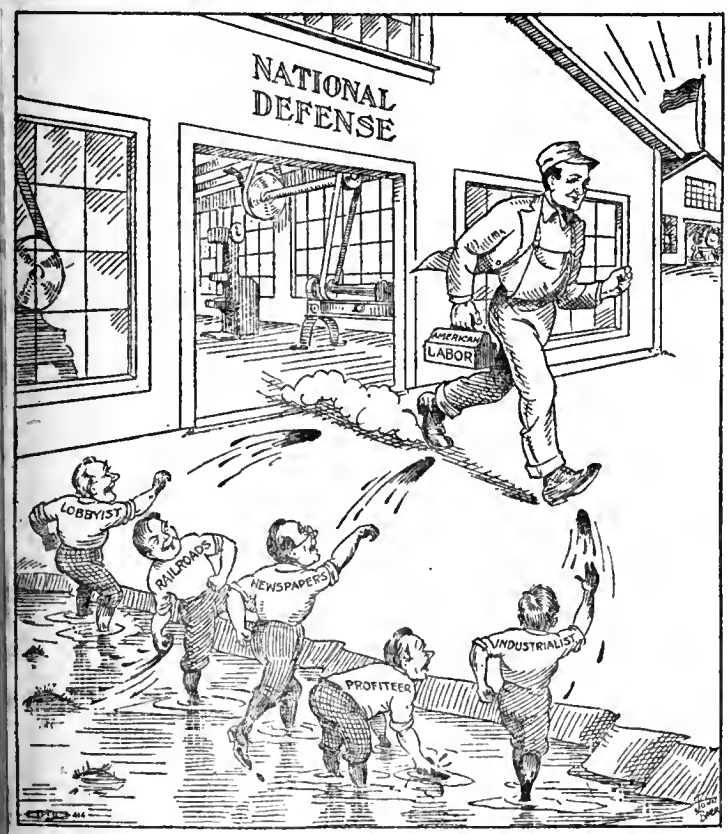
The cartoonist, like the editorial writer, is a hired man, protecting the financial and political interests of the publisher. In an editorial the writer can make an appearance of fairness, but in a cartoon the artist is on the spot. The above cartoons are part of the campaign of anti-labor falsehoods and propaganda of the publishers.

This Is the Cartoon President Roosevelt Liked

President Roosevelt endorsed the sentiments of this cartoon at his press conference Tuesday where he condemned the Cliveden set in Washington. The cartoon, titled "Decorations for the Enemy Within," is reprinted from Tuesday's (Washington) Evening Star.

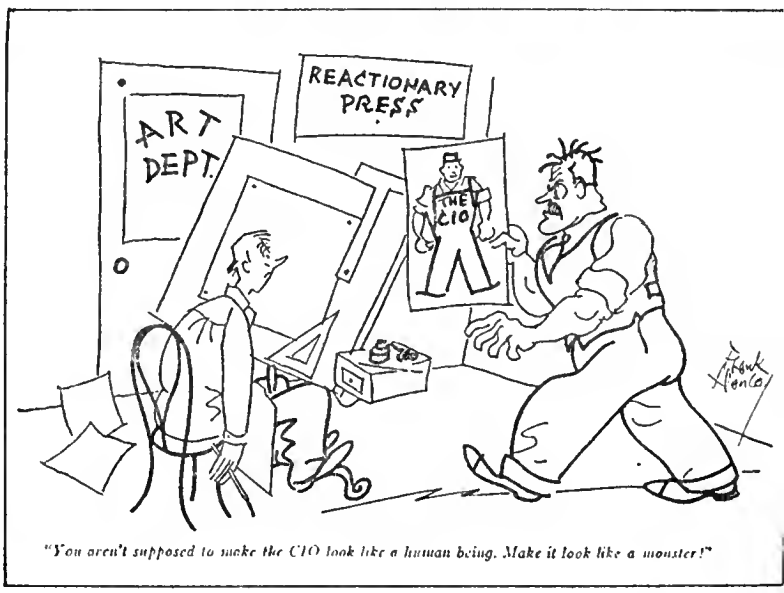
"SMEARING" MAN WHO IS DOING THE JOB!

Drawn for LABOR by John M. Baer "LABOR" DEC 17 1940



THE MONSTER'S INSTINCT

Favor a few of the hated ones and use them



"You aren't supposed to make the CIO look like a human being. Make it look like a monster!"

On the other hand, here are four honest cartoons. Note that Berryman appears on both pages. Art Young is one of the world's greatest cartoonists but 99% of the press would not touch his work. Bottom, right, is a Newspaper Guild cartoon. Newspaper men know the truth about our venal press.

population of Helsingfors . . . inflicting hundreds of casualties. . . . Unofficial estimates of the dead in the first raids were as high as 200. . . ."

It would be only fair to Mr. Duell to explain to readers that the United Press is the stingiest of news agencies and pays the lousiest salaries in the world; it pinches pennies, maintains an inadequate research and morgue department, spends as little as possible in getting news, and therefore skeletonizes its "cableese" so closely that correspondents abroad cannot recognize their stories when they appear expanded in the papers.

It is just possible that Duell never wrote anything at all about "a hail of thermite bombs on the dazed population." He may very honestly have reported that bombs intended for military objectives fell short or overshot the mark—as they did even when aimed by American aviators against Germans. Mr. Duell does say that the bombs "were aimed at the railroad station, the harbor and the airport." He nowhere in the body of the story mentions anything in the frenzied U.P. story "lead," which may have been written in New York—the thermite attack on a dazed population—and it is possible that this falsehood was the work of the rewrite (or expansion) desk in New York.

The *New York Post* on November 30 carried the same story as the *World-Telegram*. On December 1, its bombing story (from the U.P.) said "Soviet airplanes raided Helsinki three times today, dropping at least fifteen bombs on the working class district." This bombing of the proletariat is a new trick. When Franco deliberately destroyed the workers' homes in Malaga and the two workers' sections of Madrid, sparing the rich residential district where Fascists lived, there were no such headline stories. The *Post* gave the official death toll of November 30 raids as 72.

On December 4 the ex-liberal *Post* apparently felt it was not getting the circulation increases commensurate with its anti-Russian policy, whereupon it printed as vicious an atrocity story as any war has produced. Under an eight-column streamer

HELSINKI FEARS POISON GAS ATTACKS

it published a story which was not even a story but a rumor which the U.P. dignified by calling it a "report." "Reports spread that Russian fliers planned to bombard the city with poison gas," says the text on which the headline was written. That was all. There were no facts. But there was pure journalistic fraud. I would leave it to the 18,000 members of the Newspaper Guild to say whether an anonymous story from Finland saying "reports spread" that the enemy "planned" anything was a story worth printing at all as fact, or using under an eight-column heading. The American reader is a headline reader. He sees the heading "poison gas" and that is usually all. He accuses the Russians of an atrocity, whereas in truth the United Press and its thousand papers committed the atrocity.

The Associated Press was not to be outdone in faking the news. It was the first to spread reports that Russian fliers opened up machinegun attacks on civilians, and it repeated this story frequently even after official denials were issued and Voroshiloff's and Timoshenko's orders of the day instructing the air force not to bomb or endanger civilians were printed.

However, any honest man would have known that civilians were not machinegunned or bombed because there were no results to prove it. When there is bombing or machinegunning of civilians there are thousands of casualties, as this war has proven. But the proofs—which even many newspapers recognized at the time—were furnished much earlier. I know something, for example, of the machinegunning of civilians by Italian Fascists, German Nazis and Spanish Falangistas on the roads out of Malaga in 1937. Here there were few if any anti-aircraft guns and here there was an intention to commit murder. The results were too horrible to describe. But in Finland you had the war correspondents in one breath proclaiming that the Finnish anti-aircraft guns were marvelous and that the Soviet planes came down low and machinegunned many civilians. One of these two sorts of stories was false.

The truth? I am not a military expert, nevertheless I do not have to call upon General Hidalgo de Cisneros, commander in chief, who gave the orders to the Republican Spanish air force never to bomb civilians on Franco's side, nor do I need the corroboration of American correspondents on both sides to prove these facts:

1. That the Fascists bombed civilians because that is part of Fascist tactics;

2. That the anti-Fascists, including the Russians in Spain (700 men, including aviators, tank men, experts) never bombed civilians;

3. That when civilians are actually bombed there are heavy casualties, and

4. That the bombing of Barcelona was a dress rehearsal of all the Fascist nations for the present World War, that the raid of March 16, 17 and 18 was intended (as John Langdon-Davies wrote) to solve a technical problem, namely the possibility of creating panic and destroying a set area with all civilians within it, and that for Fascist war strategy it was a success.

"At eight past ten on the evening of March 16, 1938," reported Langdon-Davies, "the sirens of Barcelona sounded an alarm. Between that hour and 3.19 p.m., March 18, there were thirteen air raids which produced destruction in every district of Barcelona and in the surrounding towns. The total casualties were about 3,000 killed, 5,000 hospital cases, and roughly 20,000 minor injuries. . . . From the point of view of the Art of War the operation was the most satisfactory and potentially important. . . . The aim was not casualties but the creation of panic. . . . The raids were not designed to attack or destroy military objectives; indeed the technique deliberately employed made this impossible except by pure accident. . . ."

The population density of most cities is about the same—outside New York and Chinese cities perhaps. For the square block in Barcelona there are about as many people as in London, Berlin or Helsinki. The Fascist aviators raiding Barcelona did not concentrate on a certain sector; only a few planes came on many of the raids, and only a few bombs were dropped. And yet, although the objective was decidedly the bombing of civilians there was no intention to kill civilians: the main objective was to scare them, and concussion and noise actually achieved that objective, and killing was rather incidental. And yet there were 28,000 casualties: 3,000 dead taken out of the ruined buildings, and another 5,000 severely wounded, many of whom died in the hospitals, and 20,000 others wounded.

The Germans and Italians immediately ceased their attack. They could have continued it and perhaps forced a peace a year earlier for Franco, but they were not

interested in that matter: what they were interested in was practice in war for use in the next war. It was a case of "pure research" as Langdon-Davies put it.

And now, look back on the reports from Finland—the reports which the press used to whip up a hysteria throughout America. What do we find: we find that when the war was nearly over President Kallio, appealing to America for aid, said that 470 persons had been killed in air raids in all of Finland, which would make the number of civilians killed in each raid one or two. And these raids were not made by three to twelve planes, as in Barcelona, but usually by squadrons. The dozen small raids on Barcelona, some with three planes, did not approximate one raid on Helsinki and the score stood at 28,000 casualties for Barcelona and five or six in Helsinki.

The entire American press knew that there had never been one raid against Finnish civilians. But the entire press was anti-Russian, and throughout the war it faked the news to fit its emotions.

In the summer of 1940 the Institute for Propaganda Analysis issued its report on the press coverage of the Russo-Finnish War. It confirmed my charge that there had been more faking, more propaganda and lies, than in any period in my thirty years of journalism. It concluded: "The simple fact is that the American press told less truth and retailed more fancy lies about the Finnish war than about any recent conflict."

No reason for the American press fooling the American people is given.

The reason simply is this: the press is anti-Russian.

But why is the press anti-Russian?

Because the Russian social and economic system is the opposite of the American social and economic system.

But: the American press does not admit it lies. It claims it tells both sides—the truth.

This is, of course, hypocrisy added to corruption.

4 CHIEF VICTIM OF THE PRESS: LABOR

It is quite impossible to set an exact date for the entrance of commercialism (and its logical result, corruption) into American journalism, but it is apparent that it did not exist in Washington's time and that it is the dominating factor in F. D. Roosevelt's time. It is commercialization and corruption which make possible such unanswerable instances as the campaign of lies about Mexico by newspaper owners interested in Mexican oil, silver, copper and ranches; and the general campaign of falsehood and slander for more than a generation against a nation whose economic policy is the opposite of that favored by American businessmen.

It is my claim that the press, which could be the most powerful force in making this country over into an industrial democracy in which poverty would be unknown, wealth equitably distributed, every man certain of the minimum requirements of

decent living (as well as the four freedoms) has, on the contrary, become the most powerful force against the general welfare of the majority of the people.

That the press has been throughout our history unfair to labor is now generally admitted. In the early or halcyon days of the Blue Eagle, the New Deal, the N.R.A. and the Wagner Act even commercial (but liberal) newspapers such as the *New York Post* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* said editorially that one of the results of the great era then dawning would be the new policy of treating labor fairly in the newspapers —something which had not been done before. Reactionary papers by editorially promising better treatment of labor indirectly admitted their failure of the past. But even then most newspapers refused to realize that labor is more than the American Federation of Labor, or the Congress of Industrial Organizations or the Railroad Brotherhoods, although these three groups now include the 11,000,000 more enlightened workers in industry. Labor is everyone who works for a living and does not distil a financial profit from the sweat of another man. Labor, as President Murray of the C.I.O. says, is America, and America is labor.

At an earlier period, when the industrial revolution was gaining great momentum, Abraham Lincoln—to whom the Republican Party, which is financed by such enemies of the people as Girdler, Weir, Grace, and Pew, pays lip service—said to these present-day American Fascisti:

"Thank God we have a country where working men have the right to strike. How else could they raise their standard of living?"—(Hartford, March 5, 1860)

"All that serves labor serves the nation. All that harms labor is treason to America. No line can be drawn between these two.

"If any man tells you he loves America yet hates labor, he is a liar. If any man tells you he trusts America yet fears labor, he is a fool. There is no America without labor." (Springfield, Illinois, October 1, 1854.)

> Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor and could never have existed if labor had not existed. Labor is superior to capital and deserves much the higher consideration.
>
> Inasmuch as most good things are produced by labor, it follows that all such things ought to belong to those whose labor has produced them. But it has happened in all ages of the world that some have labored, and others, without labor, have enjoyed a large proportion of the fruits. This is wrong, and should not continue. To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any good government.

The American newspapers have made it a policy to distinguish between labor and the public, between the majority who work for a living and what the press calls "the people," and to build up in the mind of this identical stratum the idea that there is a distinction. President Heywood Broun, newspaper columnist and head of the Newspaper Guild (C.I.O.) pointed this out. He said:

> Particularly effective have been the splitting tactics of the conservatives. Much has been said about the rights of "the public" as opposed to the rights of "labor." Although the wedge has a cutting edge, it is essentially a phantom. The toilers and the general public are one and the same group. The small

> employee who writes to the paper with great pride that he always makes a point of going into a store if he sees a picket line outside, is not only playing the role of the meanest man on earth but actually deluding himself. He is cutting his own throat as well as those of his fellows.

It is imperative that this be understood. The entire alibi of the press consists of its claim that it has championed the general welfare, the public, against one part of it, or labor. The press will never admit it has been the enemy of the people, yet in fighting labor it has actually been fighting the majority of the people, and therefore the general public it pretends to serve. An honest editor will admit it. William Allen White, president of the American Society of Newspapers Editors, did say in a public speech that "Labor as a class distrusts us. It wouldn't distrust us without reason. . . . It is so easy to policy the news. Indeed it is hard not to policy the news when the news is affected with a vital bread-and-butter interest to the capitalist who controls a newspaper." But most editors and publishers will not admit this, and the majority suppressed this part of Mr. White's recent address.

I do not know of anyone who has made a parallel study of the rise of labor in America and the rising anger of the press against labor, although considerable references can be found in Yellen's *American Labor Struggles*. It is interesting to learn, for instance, that when the depression of 1873 led to the railroad strike of 1877 and when Federal troops were for the first time in history called out in peacetime to suppress a strike, the *New York Times* (issue of July 26) used the following words as synonyms for working men: "hoodlums, thieves, looters, Communists, agitators, lawbreakers, bummers, idiots and terrible fellows." On July 24 this same newspaper had printed a Chicago story under a subheadline: THE CITY IN POSSESSION OF COMMUNISTS, and it was at this time that the *Chicago Tribune*, referring to the thousands of wandering unemployed, made the editorial suggestion that a pinch of arsenic put on sandwiches given them by housewives would solve that problem.

In the Pullman strike, led by Eugene V. Debs, the governor of Illinois, Altgeld, protested that "the newspapers' accounts have in many cases been pure fabrications, and others wild exaggerations. You have been imposed on in this matter." This statement he made to President Cleveland, telling him not to send troops, but the General Managers Association had more influence than the governor. The press of the entire nation waged a campaign against Altgeld, calling him a "revolutionary anarchist" for siding with labor.

In the Ludlow massacre of 1913, when militia attacked a tent colony, murdering women and children and burning many to death, the press sided with the Rockefellers, who were advertisers. The *New York Times* attacked the victims of the murderous militia and upheld "the right to work" which Pegler, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government, and other native Fascisti maintain today, along with the majority of newspapers.

And to this very day for every hundred Americans who believe the Haymarket bombing in Chicago in 1886 was an anarchist outrage there is only one who knows the right and wrong of that event and the fact it was a culminating point in the fight for an eight-hour day for labor. Long before the bomb was thrown—by a person who

was never named or captured, although innocent labor leaders were hanged—the press fought for the ten-hour and twelve-hour workday, and for low wages for labor. The historian refers continually to "the steady barrage kept up by the press" against labor and the eight-hour day idea, to "the relentless abuse by newspapers, periodicals, and pulpit."

In the Lawrence, Massachusetts, mill strike the press accepted as fact the police statement that strikers plotted to use dynamite. The *New York Times* said that "when a striker goes on picket duty with a revolver in his pocket there is murder in his heart. When strikers use or prepare to use dynamite they display a fiendish lack of humanity." The dynamite was planted by an enemy of the strikers and an undertaker! The *Times* and the rest of the press did not retract their murderous editorials. When the strikers won, the press began a tremendous campaign against the Industrial Workers of the World because it saw in this new movement a threat against big business and profits, which the conservative American Federation of Labor did not menace. (In 1936 the same press which had attacked the Knights of Labor a generation ago, then the A.F.L., then the I.W.W., turned to praise the A.F.L. when it attacked the C.I.O. as too radical, too dangerous to big business and profits.)

In September, 1919, the American press again fooled all the people with its stories of the police strike and the "heroic" actions of Governor Calvin Coolidge. The truth came out later—too late—in the report of the citizens' committee headed by Banker Storrow. (Documentation in *World Panorama,* page 182.) But one of the worst conspiracies by the newspapers to break a strike and fool the entire American people occurred in 1919 when the workmen of Morgan's great U.S. Steel Corporation went out. The entire Pittsburgh press (now amalgamated into the *Press, Sun-Telegraph* and *Post-Gazette)* lied in the morning and lied in the evening—and since these papers also supplied the A.P., U.P. and I.N.S., the three main services, the falsehood was spread into every village of the nation. But no reader of the newspapers knew that the Farmers' National Bank, the Mellon banks, and other corporations affiliated with the steel corporations held mortgages or notes of all newspapers and controlled their policies. The *Pittsburgh Chronicle-Telegraph* and *Pittsburgh Gazette-Times* were owned by the Olivers, a steel manufacturing family; the *Pittsburgh Post* and *Pittsburgh Sun* were owned by T. Hart Given of the Farmers' National, a bank affiliated with the steel interests, and the other papers were in debt to the Mellons. The press helped break the strike. It did labor little good to have this press corruption exposed years later in books. (Documentation: Interchurch Commission of Inquiry, two volumes, Harcourt Brace.)

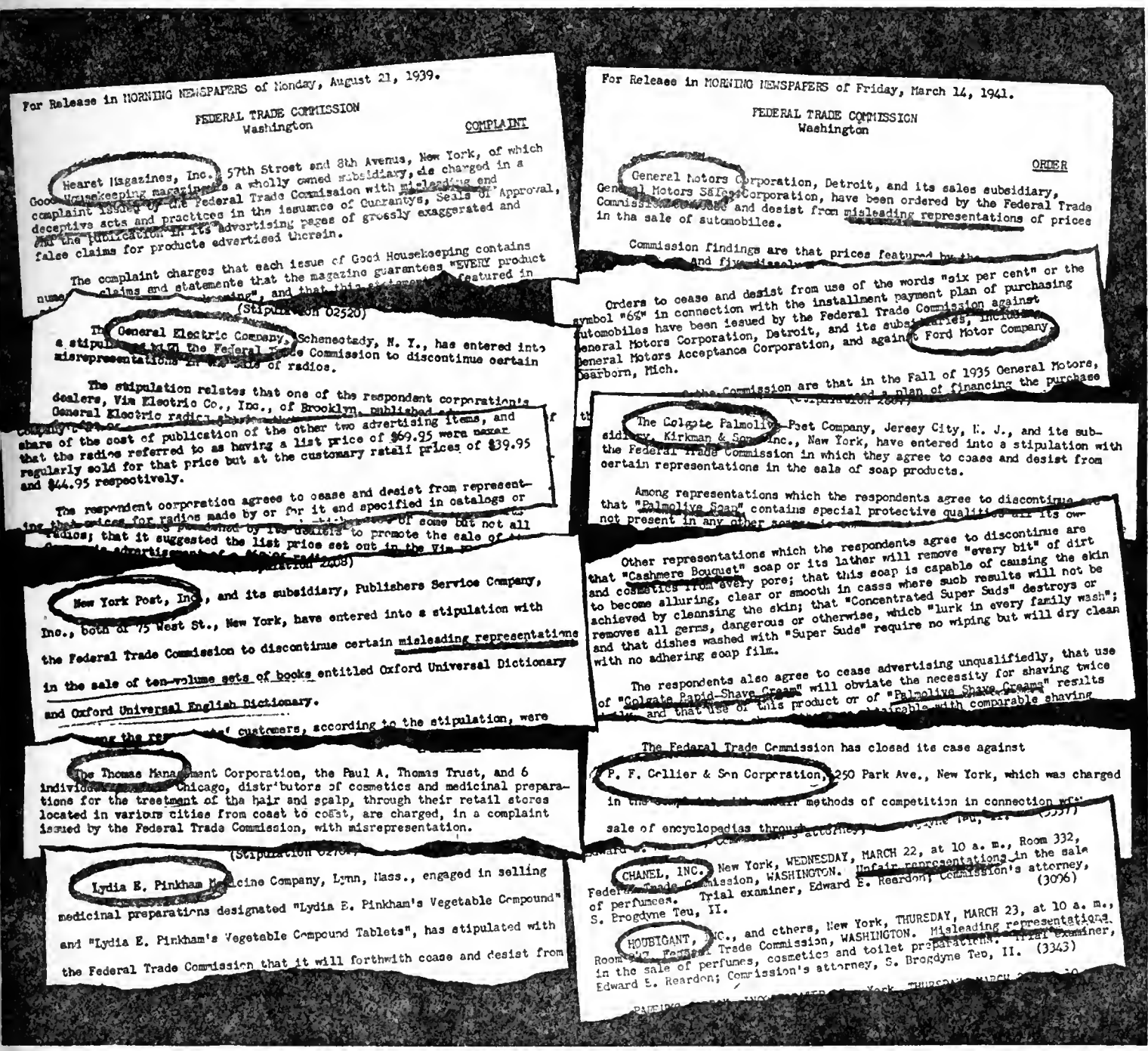
One of the significant things about the San Francisco strike of 1934 was the boast made in *Editor & Publisher* and in many newspaper editorials that the press broke this strike. In 1934 upon receipt of a cable from Hearst, who was in London, the newspaper publishers organized and planned a propaganda campaign—in which falsehood was a part—to break the labor movement. Conspirators were: C. R. Lindner of *San Francisco Examiner;* G. T. Cameron, *San Francisco Chronicle;* R. O. Holliday of the *Call-Bulletin;* J. R. Knowland of the *Oakland Tribune,* and R. A. Carrington of *Oakland Post-Inquirer.* Generalissimo of the anti-labor forces was John F. Neyland, Hearst attorney. Hearst's order to brand all labor "red" or Communist,

was carried out. Similar editorials and "news" stories were carried in all papers—by journals which had denounced German and Italian and Russian newspapers as carrying similar editorials and news stories on order of official press bureaus. The publishers ganged up on General Hugh Johnson, who came to California as a mediator; they united with the police in bloody raids which clearly violated the Constitution, and they applauded the violence, bloodshed, lawlessness of their side while charging the same methods to labor, which had refrained from using them. Although the trade unions passed a resolution condemning the aforementioned newspapers as enemies and liars and suggested a boycott, it is unfortunately true that labor did not stop reading the press which had betrayed its interests.

It is clear from a summary of the journalistic history of a few big strikes, that the press has always been anti-labor. It is also true that despite the promises of 1933 to be objective and impartial, if not friendly, in the future, the press has failed the majority of the people again. In 1936 in an attempt to smash the C.I.O. it tried to bolster the A.F.L. but failed in both. I do not believe there has been a month in the past five years without at least one editorial in the *New York Times* demanding the emasculation or repeal of the Wagner Act, which labor considers its Magna Carta.

After June, 1940, when a defense program was begun by the government, the press, including isolationist newspapers which did not favor this program, used every strike as a club for beating labor. In 1942 government investigations showed that there had been a sit-down by capital, that the aluminum, rubber, airplane production and other programs had been sabotaged by Mellon's Alcoa, Knudsen's and the DuPonts' General Motors, Grace's Bethlehem and Morgan's U.S. Steel. There had been a loss of a thousand times as many man-days due to corporations refusing to expand plants and convert them to war needs as there had been in strikes, but the press (with the usual exception of a few small city papers and two or three metropolitan journals) blamed labor. Papers used headlines such as these: "DEFENSE STRIKES RESPONSIBLE FOR LOSS OF 100 BOMBERS." Official government reports showing corporation sabotage could have resulted in a truthful head saying: "BIG BUSINESS STRIKES RESPONSIBLE FOR LOSS OF 10,000 BOMBERS." But if you will read all the papers you will find the former type of headline in the commercial press, the latter type in the small, liberal weeklies.

In the Spring of 1941—with the defense program almost a year old and with labor offering numerous plans for conversion of plants and greater production of planes, tanks and guns, which the dollar-a-year men in Washington, most of them members of the National Association of Manufacurers, refused to consider because it would lessen the profits of their companies—the Federated Press, a labor news agency, made a survey of the opinion of labor editors. Press unfairness was taken for granted. Alexander Crosby asked editors: "Have the daily papers in your area shown increased unfairness to labor in recent months?" Almost all of them replied "Yes." Oscar Cooley of *The Cooperative Builder* said: "They're always that way." In only six cities was the press found not guilty of whipping up public opinion against labor. These were: Cincinnati, Cheyenne, Superior, Elizabeth, N. J., Springfield and Rockford, Illinois. The *Kansas City Journal* and *Milwaukee Post* were recommended for fairness. But the vote was:



For Release in MORNING NEWSPAPERS of Monday, August 21, 1939.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION
Washington

COMPLAINT

Hearst Magazines, Inc., 57th Street and 8th Avenue, New York, of which Good Housekeeping magazine is a wholly owned subsidiary, is charged in a complaint issued by the Federal Trade Commission with misleading and deceptive acts and practices in the issuance of Guarantys, Seals of Approval, and the publication in its advertising pages of grossly exaggerated and false claims for products advertised therein.

The complaint charges that each issue of Good Housekeeping contains numerous claims and statements that the magazine guarantees "EVERY product [illegible] featured in [illegible]

(Stipulation 02520)

The General Electric Company, Schenectady, N. Y., has entered into a stipulation with the Federal Trade Commission to discontinue certain misrepresentations in the sale of radios.

The stipulation relates that one of the respondent corporation's dealers, Vim Electric Co., Inc., of Brooklyn, published [illegible] General Electric radios [illegible] share of the cost of publication of the other two advertising items, and that the radios referred to as having a list price of $69.95 were never regularly sold for that price but at the customary retail prices of $39.95 and $44.95 respectively.

The respondent corporation agrees to cease and desist from representing that prices for radios made by or for it and specified in catalogs or [illegible] of some but not all radios; that it suggested the list price set out in the Vim [illegible]

(Stipulation 2408)

New York Post, Inc., and its subsidiary, Publishers Service Company, Inc., both of 75 West St., New York, have entered into a stipulation with the Federal Trade Commission to discontinue certain misleading representations in the sale of ten-volume sets of books entitled Oxford Universal Dictionary and Oxford Universal English Dictionary.

[illegible] customers, according to the stipulation, were [illegible]

The Thomas Management Corporation, the Paul A. Thomas Trust, and 6 individuals [illegible] Chicago, distributors of cosmetics and medicinal preparations for the treatment of the hair and scalp, through their retail stores located in various cities from coast to coast, are charged, in a complaint issued by the Federal Trade Commission, with misrepresentation.

(Stipulation 02[illegible])

Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Company, Lynn, Mass., engaged in selling medicinal preparations designated "Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound" and "Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound Tablets", has stipulated with the Federal Trade Commission that it will forthwith cease and desist from [illegible]

For Release in MORNING NEWSPAPERS of Friday, March 14, 1941.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION
Washington

ORDER

General Motors Corporation, Detroit, and its sales subsidiary, General Motors Sales Corporation, have been ordered by the Federal Trade Commission to cease and desist from misleading representations of prices in the sale of automobiles.

Commission findings are that prices featured by the [illegible] and five dissolved [illegible]

Orders to cease and desist from use of the words "six per cent" or the symbol "6%" in connection with the installment payment plan of purchasing automobiles have been issued by the Federal Trade Commission against General Motors Corporation, Detroit, and its subsidiaries, including General Motors Acceptance Corporation, and against Ford Motor Company, Dearborn, Mich.

[illegible] the Commission are that in the Fall of 1935 General Motors, [illegible] a plan of financing the purchase [illegible]

(Stipulation 2[illegible])

The Colgate Palmolive-Peet Company, Jersey City, N. J., and its subsidiary, Kirkman & Son, Inc., New York, have entered into a stipulation with the Federal Trade Commission in which they agree to cease and desist from certain representations in the sale of soap products.

Among representations which the respondents agree to discontinue are that "Palmolive Soap" contains special protective qualities all its own not present in any other soap [illegible]

Other representations which the respondents agree to discontinue are that "Cashmere Bouquet" soap or its lather will remove "every bit" of dirt and cosmetics from every pore; that this soap is capable of causing the skin to become alluring, clear or smooth in cases where such results will not be achieved by cleansing the skin; that "Concentrated Super Suds" destroys or removes all germs, dangerous or otherwise, which "lurk in every family wash"; and that dishes washed with "Super Suds" require no wiping but will dry clean with no adhering soap film.

The respondents also agree to cease advertising unqualifiedly, that use of "Colgate Rapid-Shave Cream" will obviate the necessity for shaving twice [illegible] and that use of this product or of "Palmolive Shave Creams" results [illegible] with comparable shaving [illegible]

The Federal Trade Commission has closed its case against P. F. Collier & Son Corporation, 250 Park Ave., New York, which was charged in the [illegible] methods of competition in connection with sale of encyclopedias through [illegible] attorney, [illegible] Teu, II. (3337)

[illegible] Edward [illegible] Commission's attorney, [illegible]

CHANEL, INC., New York, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 22, at 10 a. m., Room 332, Federal Trade Commission, WASHINGTON. Unfair representations in the sale of perfumes. Trial examiner, Edward E. Reardon; Commission's attorney, S. Brogdyne Teu, II. (3096)

HOUBIGANT, INC., and others, New York, THURSDAY, MARCH 23, at 10 a. m., Room [illegible], Federal Trade Commission, WASHINGTON. Misleading representations in the sale of perfumes, cosmetics and toilet preparations. Trial examiner, Edward E. Reardon; Commission's attorney, S. Brogdyne Teu, II. (3343)

[illegible] New York, THURSDAY, MARCH [illegible]

Here is one way you can test the honesty of your home town newspaper: challenge it to print the daily orders of the Federal Trade Commission. They are real news. There is not one big advertiser in America who has escaped a fraud order, a "cease & desist" order or a "stipulation" from the FTC, and 99.99% of them are suppressed.

	INCREASED UNFAIRNESS OF THE PRESS	
	YES	NO
All labor editors (57 cities, 28 states)	92%	8%
American Federation of Labor editors	89	11
C.I.O. editors	100	..
Unaffiliated labor editors	92	8

Crosby found there was no perceptible variation either geographically or by size of city. Large and small, east and west, it was the same story of increasing labor-baiting by the daily commercial press. Significantly enough Fred Meyers, editor of the *Guild Reporter,* official organ of the nation's newspapermen, replied: "No one knows as well as newspaper reporters and writers that labor is getting a savage and unjustified kicking around in the daily press." Leslie Orear, *C.I.O. News,* Chicago, reported that "the Hearst press has been especially vicious with heavy emphasis on redbaiting." Bert Stark, editor, *Wilkes-Barre Labor News,* said: "The willingness of the dailies to stooge for the Manufacturers Association should warn labor to unite itself." M. I. Thompson, *Utah Labor News,* reported that "the daily press is apparently playing to the tune of the union-hating industrialists." And so it went. If the survey did nothing else, it showed that America's labor editors today clearly recognize that the press and the employers are united and that both are their enemies. These labor editors are the men who could publish a truly free press if they had the money and if the demand were big enough.

If there is any other cause for falsehood in the press except money—and by money I mean everything from a paid ad to a community of interest with wealth and power—I have not been able to find it. On the other hand, it is a simple matter to point out that fact, which I am sure is unknown to 99 percent of the 40,000,000 people who read Hearst newspapers and magazines, that Hearst is a manufacturer, a mine owner, an exploiter of Mexican peons and American industrial workers, a hard-fisted and hardhearted boss, an enemy of unions in the mines and mills he inherited or purchased. Since this is true, how can one expect fairness to labor in Hearst's twenty newspapers and dozen magazines, his news reels and his radio stations?

In addition to the Mexican ownings, already mentioned, Hearst controls the Homestake Mining Co. in the Black Hills of South Dakota; he owns vast fruit and vegetable lands in California and a canning company, and has huge investments in Peruvian copper. (Curiously enough Hearst's anti-British and pro-German policy is based not on Irish-Catholic hatred of Britain—Hearst himself is not a Catholic but Mrs. Hearst is—but on a more substantial fact: the British opposition to the Cerro de Pasco Investment Company in a fight to control Peruvian resources.)

At home, and more particularly at Homestake, Hearst (according to findings of George Creel and Walsh Committee on Industrial Relations) locked out 2,000 miners in 1909 and after breaking their strike made them sign a pledge never to join a union. Hearst maintained a seven-day week, ten-hour day. A Catholic bishop who demanded that workmen be permitted to attend church Sundays was attacked in the Hearst press and driven out of town—although at the same time Hearst was the chief journalistic propagandist for the Catholic religion in America. Paul Peterson of Salt

Lake City, Utah Federation of Labor president, did not dare visit North and South Dakota towns except in the disguise of a traveling salesman. He found that since 1877 about $400,000,000 in gold had been taken out of Hearst's Homestake mine. The towns were terrorized. Men with guns drove Peterson out of one after another. The American Federation of Labor tried to call secret meetings of miners; it tried to place announcements for union meetings as advertisements, but the small town publishers told him they would be put out of business if they printed anything about unions. Hearst officials said: "We've run this section for years and we won't tolerate labor organizers."

This is the true picture of Hearst, employer of labor, the picture which the film Citizen Kane skipped.

And here is part of a document on file in the New York Supreme Court Building in New York City; it is the last part of the *Amended Answer* which the magazine *Friday* filed when Hearst sued for libel. Of Hearst as anti-labor, the document says:

> With respect to the Hearst newspapers, their strikebreaking, "red scare" and news distortion policies:
>
> 73. The policy of the Hearst papers, over a period of many years, has been to take a position against all strikes called by organized labor, without reference to the causes or merits thereof; and has been generally inimical to the advancement of the rights of labor, including the establishment of labor's rights to collective bargaining.
>
> 74. In the publicity given by the Hearst papers to strike situations over a period of many years, there has consistently been a bias in favor of the employers' side . . . and against the position of labor, regardless of the merits of any such strike. . . .
>
> 75. The policy of the Hearst papers on many occasions has been to inflame public sentiment against strikes and to recommend and incite violent actions by the public and the use of police and armed forces for the purpose of breaking strikes and eliminating picket lines.
>
> 76. In connection with their policy of recommending strikebreaking the Hearst papers have on many occasions published false, misleading and distorted accounts . . . for the purpose of turning public opinion against the position of labor in such strikes.
>
> 77. Over a period of many years, the Hearst papers, pursuant to the policies and instructions formulated and established for them by the plaintiff William Randolph Hearst, have been regularly engaged in the practice known generally as "redbaiting"; namely, falsely and maliciously accusing persons or organizations whose activities or policies were not approved by the plaintiff, William Randolph Hearst, of being "reds" or "Communists."
>
> 78. Over a period of many years . . . the Hearst papers . . . have regularly engaged in attempts to discredit and injure newspapers, organizations, public figures, and others having political or other beliefs and policies differing from those of the plaintiff, William Randolph Hearst, and to cause doubt upon the sincerity and the truth of their beliefs, policies and public utterances, by falsely and maliciously accusing such newspapers, organizations, public figures, and others, of being "reds," or "Communists," "members of the Communist Party," "tools of the Communist government," "fellow travelers," or the equivalent.

IS THE ENTIRE PRESS CORRUPT?

This man Hearst who is beyond question anti-labor and uses his newspaper chain against labor, has for rival one Roy Howard, successor to Scripps (a pro-labor publisher who founded the Scripps-Howard chain). The other large chains are the Gannett newspapers and the McCormick-Patterson papers, not exactly a chain, but even more powerful than Gannett's.

I could give scores of episodes to prove the bias of the Howard papers. Here, however, is what a conservative labor paper has to say. (From *Labor,* organ of the Railroad Brotherhoods, November 18, 1941):

> "One of the most glaring of newspaper distortions to injure organized labor was put over the wires of the United Press this week.
>
> "The U.P., one of the country's two most powerful news agencies, is controlled by the Scripps-Howard interests, headed by Roy Howard, notorious for his anti-labor policies.
>
> "Scripps-Howard papers for many months have been conducting a vicious campaign against labor, outdoing other reactionary newspapers in the virulence of their smearing and in the violence of their demands for legislative shackles on organized workers.
>
> "Scripps-Howard misrepresentations hit a new low on Saturday when the United Press carried a story ascribed to the Department of Labor, in which it was asserted that in the fifteen months since the start of the defense program there have been '24,284,981 man-days of defense effort' lost because of strikes.
>
> "Then, to make matters worse, the United Press story adroitly quoted government officials as saying this loss would have been enough to build 10,000 planes.
>
> "Department of Labor officials were shocked when they saw the story and promptly demanded a correction. The figure of man-day losses for the fifteen months covered all strikes, not those on defense alone, they pointed out. Most such walkouts in department stores, hotels, bakeries, candy plants and hundreds of other establishments have not even a remote connection with defense. Obviously hotel bellhops or store clerks could not be constructing planes, and the inference in the United Press story . . . was branded a barefaced deception.
>
> "Of course newspapers throughout the country gave a big 'play' to the story, and some like the *Herald Tribune* of New York declared in a headline: 'LABOR DEPARTMENT REPORTS FIVE-MONTH LOSS SUFFICIENT TO BUILD 10,000 PLANES.' The Department said nothing of the kind. To the Department's protest, the United Press replied that it was a 'mistake,' but any newspaperman reading the story could see it was not an error, but a deliberate yarn cooked up to discredit labor and inflame public opinion. Tory Congressmen, who are pushing repressive legislation, undoubtedly will make full use of the United Press report.
>
> "Anti-labor treatment of the news by the Scripps-Howard interests in recent years contrasts sharply with the way these papers handled labor news in the days when 'Old Man' Scripps operated the chain. Labor developments were then treated accurately and intelligently. However, since Roy Howard assumed control, the Scripps-Howard papers have become about the most unfair in the nation, and no falsehood about labor is too base for them to publish."

For the benefit of those who may not know the owners of the papers called most unfair by *Labor,* here is the full Scripps-Howard list: *New York World-Telegram,*

Cleveland Press, Pittsburgh Press, Cincinnati Post, Columbus Citizen, San Francisco News, Indianapolis Times, Knoxville News-Sentinel, Memphis Press-Scimitar, Memphis Commercial Appeal, Birmingham Post, Albuquerque Tribune, Covington Kentucky Post, Denver Rocky Mountain News, Evansville Press.

In addition to Roy Howard, the men responsible for the perversion of the United Press and Scripps-Howard chain are: W. W. Hawkins, chairman of the board, and John Sorrels. In addition to an editorial campaign against the best interests of labor, the chain syndicates the anti-labor writings of Pegler and other columnists. It had two liberal pro-labor columnists once, Heywood Broun and Harry Elmer Barnes, but did not renew contracts with them. It will not publish any liberal or pro-labor columns.

The heirs of Joseph Medill of the *Chicago Tribune* are: Colonel McCormick whose *Chicago Tribune* has 1,000,000 daily circulation and is a power in politics in a dozen Middle Western States; Captain Joseph Medill Patterson whose *New York Daily News* has 2,000,000 daily and 4,000,000 Sunday; Eleanor Patterson of the *Washington Times-Herald.*

Whereas "Lusty" Scripps was an honest liberal, and during his lifetime was fair to labor in all Scripps newspapers, and Hearst never a friend of the people, Patterson during his college years was completely won over to humanitarianism and joined the Socialist Party; he wrote Socialist tracts and preached good will to men. After he established the *Daily News* in 1919 he sometimes showed sparks of the old Socialist past, but after the collapse of the economic system in 1929 he became more and more reactionary, until he was not only appeasing the Fascist dictators but actually preaching Fascist ideology wrapped up in the American flag and surmounted with the slogan "Our Country, Right or Wrong."

Of the whole journalistic lot, Hearst, Howard, McCormick and Patterson, it may be said that there is not a spark of social conscience left in them; it never existed in most, and it soured to Fascism in one. These men who own the great news chains which make public opinion are all socially and economically illiterate; they are all socially irresponsible; they are all motivated by nothing above the pocketbook; they are doing nothing to make America a better nation and nothing to advance the welfare of the American people although they are in a position to do more than anyone except a liberal president when he is supported by a liberal majority in Congress—a situation that has rarely happened in our history.

5 AGENCY OF PRESS CORRUPTION: ADVERTISING

The evidence in this case—the people vs. advertising—is so great that it would fill all the pages of the encyclopedia, and since I cannot produce much of it here, and since I prefer illuminating examples to generalities, I will concentrate on two cases: 1, the Listerine Network; 2, the Thurman Arnold Smear. They may not prove the case but they should enlighten the reader.

The charge against advertising, in brief, is this: that it has become the medium of corruption of the press. It now represents all that is evil in this world. The press that attacked George Washington, for instance. also carried advertising, such as the announcement of the reward of a few dollars for the return of a runaway slave; but the press that attacked Franklin Roosevelt was motivated largely by the desire to preserve the financial interests of the 200 industrial and 50 financial families which own and rule America (Monograph 29, T.N.E.C.) The economic royalists whom Roosevelt denounced (but whom he in reality was saving from destruction) are also the large advertisers. The economic-financial system which Roosevelt was preserving by instituting mild reforms is also the system which controls public opinion through press and radio. The special interests, the privileged class, are concerned chiefly with their own survival, with money as a means of survival, with the ownership and control of everything in America. They are opposed to the general welfare when that interferes with profit—and it always does. And it is no coincidence that the press which takes no advertising is almost always on the side of the general welfare, whereas the press which lives by advertising is almost always on the side of the 250 families.

Many students of journalism have asked me to suggest term papers or thesis subjects. Here is one which I have sent to several, but none has made the full investigation: that they take a list of the largest advertisers in the country; that they search the records of the Federal Trade Commission and other agencies and compare the advertising with the fraud and cease and desist orders issued against these same advertisers; that they search the newspapers to find if F.T.C. orders are ever printed, and that they note editorial policies of the newspapers accepting fraudulent advertising on such matters as the Tugwell pure food and drug law and all other laws which favor the public at the expense of the medical fakers and bad food makers.

I have even gone to the extent of starting this investigation for the students. I have sent the following few findings as a beginning for an important study. I took from *Editor & Publisher* (the most brazen hypocrite in journalism, the mouth organ of the publishers which week after week pretends that advertising is pure, that money exerts no pressures, and that the newspapers serve the public rather than wealth and power), the November 30, 1940 list of the year's biggest advertisers. Here are the first ten, the amounts they spent that year, which is about the amount each spends each year, and the repercussions of their money in the press:

1. General Motors: $15,514,840; F.T.C. fraud order against G.M. finance subsidiary, stopping claim that cars could be financed at 6 percent over list price, when in truth it was nearer 12 percent, was printed in some papers. But this fraud had been exposed years earlier and even those papers which printed F.T.C. orders had printed the 6 percent ads knowing they were fakes. Consumers Union had exposed the ads but papers like the *New York Times* and *Herald Tribune* refuse to take C.U. ads. In February, 1942, the Truman report on the corporations which sabotaged the first eighteen months of the U.S. Defense Program named General Motors. The *Times,* however, suppressed mention of this corporation. *Newsweek* did better—for G.M. It suppressed mention of G.M. in its news story but ran a feature story alongside Truman report praising G.M. for something else.

2. Procter & Gamble; $13,755,854; F.T.C. order against certain Ivory Soap ads suppressed. Ivory Soap, incidentally, ranks among the very best buys in C.U. Reports, but it was the ad which was faked. In 1942 Lever Bros. began spending $15,000,000 a year to try to get you to switch from Ivory to Swan. Swan claimed it was better in eight ways. C.U. investigation showed this was not true. Ivory began spending $10,000,000 to ask you to continue with this brand. This means a social waste of $25,000,000. Moreover, C.U. shows that soaps which spent about nothing are just as good, and names them as: Eavenson's Allwater, Co-Op floating, Macy's White Toilet, Hewitt's Coconut, Kirkman's Beauty Bubbles.

3. Reynolds Tobacco Co. (Camels); $9,296,470, also

4. Liggett & Myers (Chesterfield); $8,926,148; also Lorillard (Old Gold). Not 1 percent of the press taking cigaret ads published the Johns Hopkins University disclosures of the relationship of heavy smoking to longevity. Smoking shortens life. I furnished the scientific data to Secretary Ickes who unfortunately made only a passing reference to the suppressed story at a Town Hall of the Air meeting, and the newspapers and the *Saturday Evening Post* descended on Ickes like a 30-ton tank. They caught him in a slight error and utilized that old Roman dirty trick summed up in the phrase "falsum in unum, falsum in omnium." This is the same trick which venal, corrupt and brass check book reviewers used against Upton Sinclair's Brass Check and against all my books from the day I began criticizing advertising. "False in one thing, false in everything" is a crooked way of judgment.

5. General Foods; $8,251,576; (also, Standard Brands, eleventh biggest advertiser); all fraud orders, stipulations, cease and desist orders and any other unfavorable news involving scores of best advertised products are suppressed in all but two or three newspapers. Fleischmann Yeast advertising was one example.

6. Lever Brothers; (Lux); $7,545,499; in 1939 and 1940 when America was torn between interventionists for Britain and isolationists, the news facts of the pro-Nazi movement and the Cliveden Set of Britain came out, and it was found that Lever Bros.' Unilever House, London, was the headquarters of the German Fellowship, founded by Ribbentrop, and The Link, the most notorious Nazi outfits corrupting British ruling class, nobility, and big businessmen to the Nazi philosophy. Newspapers and magazines, such as *Friday,* which took no Lever Lux ads, printed the facts; the publications getting Lever money suppressed the story.

7. Chrysler Corporation; $7,453,014; same as G.M.

8. Colgate-Palmolive-Peet; $6,262,501; their five-cent soaps usually listed among best by C.U., but government orders against fake advertising which claimed medical virtues were suppressed in most newspapers.

9. Sterling Products; $6,203,022; the suppression of the Bayer Aspirin fraudulent advertising order was a sensation; it was worth a two-column head in papers which got no Bayer ads, but it was suppressed elsewhere. When Germany attacked the United States, Sterling appeared in the news as being partly owned by Nazis. This meant little to the public. What the press suppressed was the fact Sterling owns known products such as Lyons Toothpowder, Phillips Milk of Magnesia, Fletchers Castoria, Cascarets, and Bayer's Aspirin.

10. Ford; $6,172,684; same as G.M. and Chrysler. Also, when Ford lost six

cases under the Wagner Act, when evidence of the Ford company's use of espionage, terrorism, violence and in one instance murder of a union man by a Ford gangster was presented, the entire American press played down or suppressed the news. But every year a Ford interview on his birthday was usually Page 1.

It would be just as interesting to take the next ten largest advertisers—Standard Brands, American Tobacco, Campbell Soups, Kelloggs, General Mills, Bristol-Myers, Schenley Distillers, National Distillers, American Home Products, and National Dairy—and make a thorough investigation of advertising, press corruption, etc., and it would be more interesting to look for the larger implications.

Here, for example, is a condensed history of the Listerine Network, and how it affects you, the nation, politics, and the economic system.

On February 14, 1942, the Federal Trade Commission notified newspapers that hearings in its case against the Lambert Pharmacal Co., makers of Listerine, charged with "dissemination of misleading representations" in advertising and sale of this product, would be held in Hotel Piccadilly, in New York.

Newspapers and magazines, in which Listerine spends millions, suppressed all mention of the case, as 99 percent of them did in previous instances where Listerine was found guilty.

At my request the Federal Trade Commission sent a copy of Docket 4232 with the government's complaint. It alleges:

That Listerine disseminated "false advertisements," made "false, misleading and deceptive statements and representations contained in said false advertisements . . . in newspapers and periodicals, by radio continuities" about dandruff, colds and halitosis.

Millions of people grow bald. Millions suffer from dandruff. Millions suffer from halitosis, which in plain language is bad breath, and which may be the symptom of serious internal troubles and should not be treated merely with a mouthwash. And tens of millions of persons suffer from the common cold for which medical science has still found no cure.

On August 3, 1939, Mr. R. H. Murray sent me a clipping from *New York Post* news columns of that date which read: "The F.T.C. said today the Lambert Pharmacal Co., of St. Louis, had agreed . . . to cease representing that Listerine antiseptic cures or permanently relieves dandruff, 'kills the dandruff germ,' or 'attacks the cause of dandruff.'" No other paper printed this news and Mr. Murray pointed out that the *Post* was the only paper not blessed with Listerine ads. But today the *Post* does carry Listerine ads and the *Post* omitted the Listerine trial.

The government complaint quotes newer dandruff ads and says that statements "are grossly exaggerated, misleading and untrue." The charges of misleading and untrue are made of the halitosis ads. The government quotes the cold ads running in the *New York Times, Post* and most big newspapers and magazines—one saying Listerine reduces bacteria 96.7 percent, another that prompt use of Listerine may head off a cold, another that Listerine kills germs way back in the throat—and declares them "grossly exaggerated, misleading and untrue." "The true facts are," says the government statement, "that Listerine . . . exerts negligible inhibitory action upon germ life and will not kill a major portion, . . ." etc.

The reader may be under the impression that this is simply another small example of newspaper venality, another drop in the ocean of evidence of the corruption of newspapers and magazines. But it is a much bigger story. Outside the question of whether or not Listerine advertisements, which persuaded millions to buy dandruff, cold and halitosis remedies, were false in their claims, there is the story of the ramifications of Big Business which involve the Dies Committee, the National Association of Manufacturers, the general story of how the press is corrupted by Big Business, and an insight into the Big Money network which rules America for the benefit of a few and against the interests of the majority.

An important fact not known to the public is the existence of several organizations which unite in working for financial profits at the expense of the rights of labor, social security, and the health of the nation. Ever since the LaFollette Senate Investigation of violations of the rights of labor showed that the National Association of Manufacturers (N.A.M.) maintained a bureau spending millions to corrupt the press, a few hundred thousand persons had their eyes opened, but even many of these do not know that the N.A.M. cooperates with the National Publishers Association (the magazine equivalent of the American Newspaper Publishers Association) and the Proprietary Association of America, which is the patent medicine outfit.

These three powerful bodies work behind the scenes. The Proprietary Association, until stopped by the U.S. Government, used to put this line in its advertising contract with newspapers:

> "It is mutually agreed that this contract is void if any law is enacted by your State restricting or prohibiting the manufacture or sale of proprietary medicines."

This meant, of course, that the entire American press which shares in the annual profits of the $350,000,000 patent medicine industry, fought every law and regulation which aimed to stop the sale of unlabeled poisons to the people. And before 1906, when the first pure food law was passed, consumption and cancer cures were put up in bottles, to hasten the death of persons who might have been helped by legitimate medical science. The patent medicine people no longer sell cancer cures because they dare not, but according to medical science the abolition of every advertised medicine would be a godsend to every American except the manufacturer and the advertising racket.

Although there is no longer a contract clause requiring the press to work against the welfare of the public, there is on the other hand voluntary (?) activity to the same end.

The reader will remember the great days of the Blue Eagle, the first days of the New Deal, when it looked as if corruption was about to be banished from government, Congress, the press and Big Business, and an era of liberty, equality and fraternity arrive in a land free from poverty and insecurity. Well, all this time the National Publishers Association was lobbying to make this impossible. They actually had the effrontery (in a confidential memorandum circulated among themselves and big advertisers) to boast that they had helped destroy three of our most important pieces of humanitarian legislation. Here is the text (as issued July 16, 1934):

THE FIERY CROSS

Official Publication of the Knights of The Ku Klux Klan, Incorporated

P. O. BOX 1204 ATLANTA, GA.

J. A. COLESCOTT
IMPERIAL WIZARD

IMPERIAL KLOKAN CHIEF, EDITOR

SUBSCRIPTION ..... $1.00 A YEAR

SPECIAL PRICE ON BUNDLES
$2.00 PER 100

ADDRESS:

BOX 1204 ATLANTA, GA.

Monday, September 8, 1941

DIES CHARGES HENDERSON IS COMMUNIST

Prober Claims Price Administrator and Aides Are Reds.

By JOHN L. STEELE
United Press Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Sept. 8—Price Control Administrator Leon Henderson to the C... vice C... a spo... charg... Chairma... tin Di... Tex., ... House C... teenou... scan ... that He... and five ... aides ... Commu... affiliat... Dies, ... ter to P... Roose... asked ...

DIES CHARGES REDS PLOT TO SEIZE MEXICO

Says Nazis Are in Scheme to Establish Puppet Government There.

10,000 COMMUNISTS THERE

...ecruiting for ...nder Way ...try.

Dies Reported Next on GPU Murder List

By MERRILL MUELLER.

LONDON, March 20 (INS).—Rep. Martin Dies, chairman of the Con... sistors ... searched, this person said. ... Un-American Activities, ... Soviet GPU, Internation... highly reliable authorit...

DAILY MIRROR FRI

Dies Confirms Death Threats

WASHINGTON, March (INS). —Rep. Dies has been repeatedly ...

Dies Report Attacks Alien Isms; Ickes, Perkins, Murphy Assailed

Cabinet Officers Accused of Trying to Cripple Committee's Work—Two-Year Inquiry and $150,000 Fund Sought

KLAN URGES THAT WORK OF DIES COMMITTEE BE CONTINUED

Calls on Congress to Provide Ample Funds For Further Investigation of Un-American Activities.

Some forces in the United States are fighting the continuance of the Dies Committee investigating Un-American Activities while the Ku Klux Klan ... committee. Many members of the CIO, who are Americans in ...

(Continued on Page Three)

Big, bland, straight-shootin' Mr Dies spoke in the Klan's Imperial City on invitation of Atlanta Klan Lodge No. 76. More than a hundred patriotic, fraternal and civic organizations joined with the Klan in sponsoring the occasion, including the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Conspicuous among the honor guests with the speaker on the platform was Imperial Wizard James A Colescott. A dozen other national leaders of the Klan also sat on the stage. One of the latter, scanning the vast audience which heard the speaker, declared that fully half of the persons present were Klansmen and Klanswomen. Only a violent ...

"How faithfully he followed the doctrine which the Klan has been laying down for the past twenty years," commented Imperial Wizard Colescott in an interview after the celebration. "One needs but to look back through the files of the Klan's publications to find repeated ten thousand times the same warnings which Mr. Dies sounded. His program, which unquestionably is the program of all real Americans today, so closely parallels the program of the Klan that there is no distinguishable difference between them."

Congressman Dies devoted the greater part of his address to a summary of Fifth Column work in the United States and a warning of the menace offered by Trojan horses. He referred to the work of his Congressional com... mittee, which The Fiery Cross has repeatedly indorsed and commended, as fearless, impartial and non-partizan in its investigation which has laid bare the dangers threatening this country from within.

Chicago Daily Tribune

THE WORLD'S GREATEST NEWSPAPER

MR. DIES FINDS A NUDIST.

The Dies committee has found an apostle of nudism holding a well paid job on the Board of Economic Warfare. This is startling and perhaps amusing. More significantly, the Dies committee has found that many members of the board's staff are sympathetic with communism. They have been members of ... or contributors to ... communist cause. ...

THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW *October 27.*

Mr. Dies Reports on Trojan Horses

THE TROJAN HORSE IN AMERICA. By Martin Dies. 366 pp. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. $2.50.

Has the organization gone on record against communism and the Communist party? ... Has it ever gone on record against ... fascism and ... against commun... justification, of subversive ...

Dies Report Finds C. I. O. Tinged With Red; Issues 15,000 Word Summary of Hearings

American Youth Congress, However, Is Not Listed as One of Front Groups.

LEWIS HELD NOT BRANDED

Control Recommended for Both Fascist and Communist Party ... Alien Agents.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3 (A. ... The Dies committee ... estimated to ...

DIES SEIZES MAPS FOR U. S. 'INVASION'

He Says They Show Detailed Japanese Plan for Drive Through Alaska, Canada

TO PUBLISH PHOTOSTATS

... 1942

Will Be Contained in Report, Probably This Week, on Tokyo's Spy System

WASHINGTON, Feb 23 (U...

DIES GIVES RECORD OF JAPANESE SPIES AND FIFTH COLUMN

Vital Details of Warships and Defense Bases Long Since in Hands of the Enemy

CONQUEST OF U. S. MAPPED

General in Book Told How Step by Step Continent Would Be Won and Subjugated

... 1942

By C. F. TRUSSELL
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, FEB. 27—A record of Japanese espionage and fifth columnist operations, pictured ... having paved the way for the ...

Letters to The Times

Dec 7

Coordinated Effort Sought

Findings of Dies Committee Might Be First Approved by FBI

To THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The talk by Representative Martin Dies on Monday evening must have illustrated to many persons the splendid work which has come out of Mr. Dies' and his Committee on Un-American Activities, yet some may have wondered ... In March and April there was ... Japanese agent after the United ... ties entered the war. The agent ... turned over to the Federal Bu... of Investigation and the maps ... re given to Army Intelligence. ... Representative Dies, chairman ... the committee ...

THE DIES COMMITTEE

Congress seems to have adopted the Dies committee as one of its permanent fixtures. It was on May 26, 1938 that the House by a voice vote passed the resolution providing for the appointment of the seven-man committee to investigate un-American propaganda in the United States. In spite of the opposition that the methods of the committee aroused from the first among some members of the Administration, ... in Febr... extended ... of ...

timable. N. Y. TIMES MAR 1 3 1940

But the House evidently decided that the committee still had a useful function to perform, and it may have represented also the nature and sources of some of the recent criticisms of the committee. The public declaration a month ago by James L. Fly, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, for example, that Representative Dies had received "as many favorable references in Axis propaganda to this country as any American public figure" hardly represented the fairest or most elevated form of attack.

The Dies committee can no doubt still do some useful work in tracking down Nazi or Communist propaganda. Let us hope that it will find ways to do this without trespassing upon the functions of the FBI or the State Department.

N. Y. TIMES MAR 1 3 1940

The important story about Martin Dies which the press suppressed is that he favored the advertisers and the newspapers and that is why he got the headlines. Most papers suppressed the fact Dies associated with the Nazi Bund and other native Fascists and protected them. It was not until Vice-President Wallace denounced Dies for spreading Nazi propaganda in wartime that many newspapers ceased supporting one of our worst Fascists.

Dies Pulls Chestnuts out of Fire For Hearst, Says Gov't Counsel

Dep't Counsel Blasts J. B. Matthews 'Red Herring' Assault on Consumers Groups; President Criticized Dies Procedure

Kuhn at Luncheon Honoring Dies Declares For Continuance of Quiz on Un-Americanism

Right on Communists But Wrong on Us, Bund Chief Asserts

Fritz Kuhn, leader of the German-American Bund, today attended a luncheon given by the New York

Dies Accused Of Being Hearst Catspaw

Dep't of Agriculture Blast Condemns Attack on Consumers Groups

(Special to the Daily Worker)

WASHINGTON, Dec. 12.—Donald R. Montgomery, consumers' co-chief of Agriculture

Dies Caught In a Whopper

PM's Bureau

Eliot Winnows Truth of Nazi Protest From Record

WASHINGTON, Mar. 10.—Chairman Martin Dies of the House Committee on Un-American Activities was caught in another misstatement yesterday by Rep Thomas Eliot (D., Mass.)

Appearing before the House Rules Committee on Feb. 11 in support of a resolution to extend the life of his own Committee, Dies said the German Government had filed a protest with the State Dept. against the proposed continuance. Questioning a

FLY REPORTS AXIS FAVORABLE TO DIES

FCC Monitoring Service Says Short-Wave Propaganda From Abroad Praises Him

STAND ON RUSSIA IS CITED

Rules Committee Votes to Give Inquiry Another Year but Not Unanimously

N. Y. TIMES 11 [illegible] 1942

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 11—James L. Fly, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, advised Representative Dies, chair-

Lawyers Say Dies Let Off Fascists

Guild Petitions Congress to End Committee Appropriations

The National Lawyers Guild has petitioned Congress to refuse further appropriations to the Dies Committee because:

¶ The Federal Communication Commission's short-wave monitoring service has found that Dies is the American most frequently quoted by Axis propagandists broadcasting to the Western Hemisphere.

¶ On 29 separate occasions Dies has refused to expose Nazi and Fascist activities brought to the Committee's attention. The Guild documents this charge with instances where Dies did not make good on public promises that he would investigate the membership lists of the German-American Bund, publish a list of anti-Semitic and other "hate" groups, expose Italian agents on the West Coast, investigate the Ku Klux Klan, publish a list of Nazi agents in war industries, produce evidence on Japanese propaganda activities.

¶ Dies Committee reports left the job of collecting evidence that would stand up in court to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and other Government agencies.

¶ The Committee has attacked as subversive President Roosevelt, Price Administrator Henderson and Supreme Court Justice Murphy while shielding Father Coughlin, the Christian Front and the Silver Shirts.

¶ Dies's attacks on trade unions and their leaders have hampered the defense production effort. The Committee refused to allow accused leaders to testify in their own defense.

A Jailbird for Dies

Department of Justice

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY

New Orleans, Louisiana,
December 23, 1938.

Mr. George D. Heath,
Attorney at Law,
611 Lallaurie Street,
Houston, Texas.

In re: U.S. v. Burt Thomas, alias
Arthur Thomas

Dear Sir:-

The above case to which you undoubtedly refer in your letter of [illegible] was called for trial in [illegible] and the defendant Thomas entered a plea of nolo contendere to [illegible] indictments, one charging perjury and the other charging obtaining a seaman's certificate without being entitled thereto. Judge Dawkins deferred sentence in each case until Thomas concludes the work which he is now doing for the Dies Committee.

Very truly,

For the United States Attorney

J. SCOTT [illegible]
Assistant United States Attorney

JSH/b

Evidence of the caliber of Congressman Dies' witnesses in his efforts to discredit unions. Arthur Thomas, an expelled National Maritime Union member and convicted perjurer, gets time out of jail to testify. The NMU is a main target of Dies' campaign.

Thomas entered a plea of nolo contendere to [illegible] indictments, one charging perjury and the other charging obtaining a seaman's certificate without being entitled thereto. Judge Dawkins deferred sentence in each case until Thomas concludes the work which he is now doing for the Dies Committee.

CIO Demands Congress End "Unity-Disrupting, Sordid", Dies Committee

WASHINGTON—CIO President Phillip Murray has called upon the House of Representatives to refuse money for the continuation of the Dies Committee. Dies is asking a [illegible]ly adopted by the [illegible]has been one of the

Dies Says He's Not a Liar; Yes, He'll Get the $100,000

Ace House Investigator Reveals' Nazis Don't Like Roosevelt at All

WASHINGTON, Ma[illegible] Dies admitted that he was

PM, NEW YORK MAR 4 1942

Dies Puts Finger On—Martin Dies

Martin Dies must have been looking for the mote in his own eye when he discovered the campaign to undermine confidence in FDR. The hulking Congressman from Texas has long been among the most energetic of the anti-New Deal, anti-FDR, anti-Mrs. Roosevelt ax men.

Here is the partial record:

August, 1940—Urged that Interior Secretary Ickes and Labor Secretary Perkins be driven from the cabinet.

October, 1940—Said FDR was "evasive" on restrictive measures against Communists Nazis and Fascists for fear he "might antagonize a few votes" in the November election.

[illegible]ber, 1940—Charged then Attorney

Who's News Today?

Martin Dies, 6-foot, cigar-smoking Representative from Texas, whose [illegible]ading him to Con-

AN EDITORIAL

PM, NEW YORK MAR -6 1942

On Dies's Spiel

Rep. Martin Dies is like a pitchman selling a gadget positively guaranteed to peel the potatoes, wash the dishes, curry the dog and perform all other onerous household

Yesterday Dies defended his word in the kind of speech one used to hear on the Fourth of July. It had very little to do with the [illegible] whether he had or had

February 9, 1942.

MEMORANDUM TO:

Members of the House of Representatives of the United States and All Patriotic Americans

SUBJECT:

"Pro-Axis Leanings of the Dies Committee Hinder U. S. War Effort"

DIES ALWAYS REFUSED TO INVESTIGATE NAZIS, SURVEY SHOWS
By Federated Press

NEW YORK-(FP)-On 29 separate occasions Rep. Martin Dies has refused to expose [illegible] and fascist activities brought to his committee's attention, the Natl. [illegible] shared Feb. [illegible] released by the Na-

FEDERATED PRESS WASHINGTON BUREAU National Press Bldg. Mar.6, 1942 (1

DIES STOLE JAPANESE REPORT FROM $6 A YEAR NEWS SERVICE
By Federated Press

WASHINGTON-(FP)-The great "exposé" of Japanese sedition activities in this country made recently by the committee headed by Rep. Martin Dies (D.Tex.) was swiped

FEDERATED PRESS WASHINGTON BUREAU National Press Bldg. Feb.18,1942 (1

FBI FIGURES SHOW USELESSNESS OF DIES [illegible]
By Federated Press

WASHINGTON-(FP)-The uselessness of alleged evidence gathered by the committee headed by Rep.Martin Dies (D.Tex.) was made plain here by FBI director J. Edgar

Among Dies' agents were jailbirds, perverts, professional anti-labor spies. Most of Dies' reports were falsehoods and propaganda against labor and the New Deal. He never exposed or smeared Fascists. Every liberal and honest man and organization in America was against Dies but the press played the Nazi game for Dies because he was a friend of its advertising money.

This has been a most unusual year in the publishing field and the National Publishers Association has due cause to be proud of its operations during the year in the interests of the entire publishing industry:

1. Wagner Labor Bill. This legislation would have been very costly to all publishers whether or not they operate their own printing plant. We took a very active part in killing this legislation.

2. Tugwell Pure Food and Drug Bill. As originally proposed, this legislation would have been a serious blow to all advertising. Your committee and executives were finally successful in modifying this legislation.

3. Unemployment Insurance. This bill provided for a tax of 5 percent on all payrolls. Its seriousness speaks for itself, and your representatives aided in preventing its passage.

Fortunately for the American people another Wagner Act and another Security Act did pass, despite the campaign of the newspapers and magazines against them, and the Wagner Act remains in force despite a decade of attack by the Big Business press led by the *New York Times.* But the Tugwell Act, which would have required patent medicines to tell the same truth in advertising which they must tell on their labels, was killed and the bill which took its place was sponsored by Senator Copeland and Representative Hamilton Fish, two persons more friendly to corporation wealth than public welfare. Fraudulent advertising has been preserved thanks to the activities of the press.

Now, who are the gentlemen who boasted they killed legislation designed to increase further the life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, of the American people? Who are the people who are really anti-American, not in the cheap flagwaving professional patriot way, but under the Constitutional test of "general welfare"? Among the directors of the N.P.A. which sent out the boast they killed the general welfare legislation are:

William B. Warner, of McCalls Corporation, publisher of *McCalls Magazine, Red Book,* and others.

Roy Larsen, publisher of *Time,* partner of Henry Luce in *Time, Life, Fortune, March of Time* and other enterprises.

P. S. Collins, Curtis Publishing Co., *Saturday Evening Post, Ladies Home Journal, Country Gentleman.*

Merle Thorpe of the *Nation's Business,* published by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

S. R. Latshaw of the Butterick Publishing Co. (now defunct).

A. D. Mayo of the Crowell Publishing Co., publishers of *Collier's* weekly, *American Magazine, Woman's Home Companion.* This corporation had as its director Thomas W. Lamont, partner of J. P. Morgan. Lamont has now been succeeded by A. K. Lockett, of the House of Morgan.

Malcolm Muir of McGraw-Hill publications, leading publisher of trade magazines, and part owner of *Newsweek.* Lockett of J. P. Morgan is also a director of *Newsweek.*

Now turn to the LaFollette report (Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor, Report No. 6, part 6; pages 46ff). The LaFollette Committee, after giving

the evidence that the N.A.M. was the main enemy of labor in America, and the chief user of spies, thugs, and murderers to break strikes, also went into the origin of this outfit. It found that the N.A.M. was reorganized in 1933 thanks to the work of Tom Girdler (of Memorial Day Massacre fame) and "an outstanding industrialist, Mr. Robert L. Lund, president of Lambert Pharmacal Co. as chairman of the board." This is Listerine-Lund (page 46).

And, among the "leading business men (who) joined the original sponsors" were Ernest T. Weir of National Steel and bloody Weirton, Lammot du Pont, who shipped munitions to Nazi Germany and sold powder to Japan, and W. D. Fuller, president of Curtis (*Saturday Evening Post*) and Warner of *McCalls*. Warner later became president of N.A.M. and so did Fuller, and both cooperated with Lund, in making the N.A.M. the most powerful anti-democratic lobby in the United States, and both carried Lund's Listerine ads on the first or second advertising page of their main magazines and fought legislation aimed to enlighten the consumer at the expense of the advertiser. (The entire story of Listerine-Lund and Warner should be read in Report 6 which is devoted entirely to the N.A.M. On page 203, for example, Senator LaFollette testifies that N.A.M. money given George E. Sokolsky, columnist, "was all concealed from the public.")

William Bishop Warner of *McCalls* in 1930 became part owner of American Woolen Co. This same Warner of the N.A.M. is president of the National Publishers Association. His McCall Corporation is also listed as one of the owners of *Newsweek*.

We come now to two F.T.C. cases. On June 19, 1940, Mrs. William Hynes testified at a hearing (room 10, Uptown Club, New York City) that she had spread Miracle Whip (a salad dressing which was advertised in Hearst's *Good Houskeeping* magazine) on several pieces of bread and given them to her children, two of whom died. The U. S. was suing the Hearst magazine which claimed "every product (advertised) guaranteed." Later, it was testified that Kraft-Phenix Cheese had paid Mrs. Hynes $4000 for the death of her children.

For morning papers of August 19, 1940, the F.T.C. released its complaint that Lambert Co.'s (Lund's) Listerine was "disseminating misleading advertising." Very few newspapers published these two items; in some big cities there was no mention whatever, in others a paragraph buried in the back pages.

Good Housekeeping had run both the Listerine and the Miracle Whip ads.

All this time a new organization, Consumers Union, had been building up a circulation of 90,000 for its monthly reports which had exposed *Good Houskeeping*, Listerine, and thousands of others (while of course giving thousands of recommendations for good products, some advertised, some not). Consumers Union had been formed by persons who quit Consumers Research, following a strike in which employees complained wages of $13.13 a week paid by Dr. J. B. Matthews was not enough to live on.

And here the Listerine network makes another web. Matthews became chief investigator for Martin Dies, who has spread more falsehood than any other Congressman, done nothing to stop the Nazi and Japanese spies, and smeared every labor organization (chiefly the C.I.O.) and every liberal organization in the country. Matthews was angry at Consumers Union. Dies worked with Hearst. Dies needed the support

of the press in order to get money to continue getting the front page of the papers. The American press, with few exceptions, supported Martin Dies because Martin Dies is the patron saint of advertising (honest and corrupt) and the enemy of the cooperatives and the consumers' education movements, as well as the labor unions. In short, Martin Dies, the native poll-tax Fascist, joined up with the newspaper and magazine press (which makes its money from advertising prominent products including Listerine and Miracle Whip) in a nation-wide smear against organizations and publications which represent labor and the general welfare.

Pearson and Allen exposed this business in the Washington Merry-Go-Round. They described the meeting of Dies's chief investigator Matthews with Robert Lund of Listerine, and George Sokolsky, who had been secretly in the pay of N.A.M., with which Lund is still connected. The strategy of Red-baiting was discussed and approved. Matthews and Dies then furnished to Richard Berlin of Hearst's *Good Housekeeping* an advance copy of the Matthews-Dies report smearing consumers' organizations. According to *Space & Time,* a representative of the Young & Rubicam ad agency participated. Newspapers and magazines which refused to play up the Dies report were to be smashed by the withdrawal of advertising. (More details, *Witch Hunt,* Chapter 12.)

There are many more spokes in this wheel. But the foregoing is enough to illustrate the vicious circle. The newspapers and magazines publish advertising and suppress government suits or government orders finding fraud has been committed. On the other hand, the same newspapers and magazines attack the New Deal, the labor movement, and every piece of legislation or every movement for the general good. Also, on the other hand, they support the Dies Committee when every democratic organization (including 5,000,000 members of the C.I.O.) demands its end. The press lobbies against the people. The magazines fight the Wagner Act and Tugwell Bill.

These are the bigger aspects of the situation. The Lunds, Warners, Sokolskys, Matthews and Dies are only spokes in the wheel, threads in the network. A little fact like the newspaper suppression of the Listerine hearing may seem an unimportant flicker of light. But the light must be kept focused on these threads—the press won't do it—and the threads when traced backward lead to the entire body of national reaction (which in foreign lands is known as Fascism).

It is also possible to go beyond the Listerine Network, which shows pretty plainly that the press is corrupt and serves the N.A.M., and investigate the actions of the press in such matters as national defense, and the movement of democratic peoples against the chief enemy of the world: Fascism.

Take, for instance, this half-page advertisement with two words in big type: "CONFIDENCE/GERMANY." It speaks of the half million who "came from foreign countries to enjoy the grandeur of GERMANY." It adds that "this is significant news. It shows that CONFIDENCE is deep-rooted among the millions."

The date: June 1, 1939, 90 days before the outbreak of the war.

The place: the *New York Times.*

The *Times* has always been held up by purveyors of falsehood, notably Father Coughlin, as a horrible example of Jewish control of the press. The truth is that al-

though Messrs. Sulzberger and Adler are Jews the *Times* is no more Jewish than the Reid family *Herald Tribune*. Both are out for money, any kind of money, including Fascist money, and the *Times* took Hitler's money at a time Hitler was slaughtering Jews, just as the *Herald Tribune* took Cuban money for a special supplement at a time the Cuban dictatorship was slaughtering liberals.

Fascists advertise. Fascist nations advertise. Anti-Fascists do not advertise. If it cannot be stated as a truism that the press accepts Fascist advertising and therefore prints pro-Fascist news (until the day war is declared), then it can be stated as a fact that it is a coincidence that the press takes Fascist advertising and favors the reactionary or Fascist always, as against the liberal or popular front side.

The *New York Times* was one of the most powerful voices in America for national defense, conscription in peacetime, and for aiding Britain against Germany. Today it is proud of these facts. But the *Times* is also the powerful voice of Big Business and makes its living from the money Big Business spends in advertising. Therefore the *Times* kept up an attack on Thurman Arnold—whom it considered an enemy of Big Business because of the announced trust-busting or anti-monopoly policy of the Department of Justice—even though the *Times*' attacks meant endangering the national defense program.

How else can one judge the suppression of news exposing the great corporations which placed profits ahead of national interests, and the burial alive of news too sensational to suppress? Here is an example. On the night of April 2, 1941, the *Times* copy desk received from the Associated Press a story which began as follows:

> WASHINGTON, April 2 (AP)—Charges were laid before Congress today that "a conspiracy by the Germans" and a "bunch of self-seeking men" had in the past kept down the production of aluminum which the United States needs for airplanes, and was keeping it down today.
>
> Thurman Arnold, Assistant Attorney-General in charge of the Justice Department's anti-trust division, made that assertion to a House appropriations subcommittee hearing made public today.
>
> Because of this conspiracy, Mr. Arnold testified, the German "production went up, but they kept it down in France, England and America, and they are doing it today...."

Now I will leave it to any trained newspaperman who is not deaf, dumb and blind to say whether or not a story with this lead was a sensational front-page story, worth a big follow-up, editorials and, among crusading newspapers, a crusade. It does not matter if Arnold has said this before: it does not even matter if the story is 100 percent false. Every newspaperman knows that such a sensational charge, involving the safety of the United States, aimed at our great enemy, uttered by the spokesman of the U.S. Government, officially presented to a committee of Congress, is a tremendous story, and should be used for what it is worth.

Of course it could not be suppressed. But it could be buried alive. And the *Times* did so. It ran about six inches, with a little head reading: SAYS GERMANS CUT OUR ALUMINUM YIELD, on an inside page. If you ask the *Times* about it, it will send you a dozen answers. It may indeed deny the fact the press opposes Arnold because it considers Arnold a threat to advertising revenue: it will surely deny that Alcoa—

the Mellon-Davis families and their associates—are big advertisers, and part of the Big Business set-up which keeps the *Times'* owner in millions and *Times* editors in upper-bracket luxury. But other facts speak for themselves. These facts are simply that the Alcoa story over a period of years has been played down or suppressed.

The Truman investigation of the failure of our national defense continued. On June 16 Secretary of the Interior Ickes testified as follows:

> "When the story of this war comes to be written, if it has to be written that it was lost, it may be because of the recalcitrants of the Aluminum Company of America."

What did the press do with this story?

The *New York Herald Tribune,* which is partly owned by Lady Ward of England (Mr. Ogden Reid's sister) and which was just as pro-British, pro-national defense and pro-conscription as the *Times,* placed the story on the front page (where it belonged of course) under the head: ICKES FAVORS ALCOA SEIZURE AS MONOPOLY. But the *Times* ran about a foot of text on its thirteenth page. In so burying a sensational and important front-page item the *Times* did a double trick: it served the corporation, and it also slapped down Mr. Secretary Ickes, the journalistic hatchetman of the Roosevelt administration, the official the press hates most.

An interesting sidelight on the Ickes-Alcoa story was the appearance on the front page of the Scripps-Howard bellwether newspaper, the *New York World-Telegram,* June 17, of the same story headlined: ALCOA CHIEF DENIES BALKING DEFENSE. Of course every newspaperman knows that a denial is hardly ever a story. Just try to get a newspaper which has falsified one to print a denial—and if it does, it will lose it among the unimportant items. But ever since the Scripps-Howard chain deserted the liberal side and became an anti-labor, pro-Big Business organization, it will do such things as play up an Alcoa denial on page 1, and bury or suppress news unfavorable to the corporations.

But to return to the *Times.* Having printed twelve inches of the Ickes charge June 17, it gave the denial exactly double the space June 18 under the head: ALCOA HEADS DENY CHARGES BY ICKES. This seems to chalk up some new kind of a record of journalistic venality.

On July 2 the *Times* did another strange and wonderful thing. It printed a story, the best part of three columns, most of which were devoted to the House of Representatives report (under a heading, FADDIS HITS ICKES ON ALUMINUM LACK), the first paragraphs being given over to the attack on Ickes by a reactionary nobody who happens to be a Congressman from a district controlled by the Mellon family, and one of the largest contributors to Pennsylvania campaign funds. This peculiar handling of news also sets some sort of a new journalistic mark.

Almost without exception the liberal newspapers (*PM, St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* the weeklies which have little or no advertising) came to two conclusions: (1) that Alcoa betrayed American national interests and (2) that the press betrayed its readers by suppressing, burying and manhandling the aluminum scandal. For example, the *American Guardian,* after pointing again to the century-old story that the patriots for profit always endangered the nation, emphasized the part the standard press played in

this game. "The Aluminum Company of America," it concluded, "was perfectly willing to jeopardize the production of the most vitally necessary weapon that this nation is in need of . . . yet, as revealing as the whole story is, you found no eight column lines in our eastern papers. . . . An organ of Big Business such as the *New York Times* actually put this story on page 10 with a one-column head. Of course the papers couldn't ignore it. It was too big for that. But they tried to save the face of this multi-millionaire corporation."

The truth is as stated: the newspapers and magazines could not suppress the Congressional hearings, the reports, the statements made to Congress, but they did their best. They also assisted the Mellons, Davises, Dukes and other owners of Alcoa by keeping silent during the two years in which Truman Arnold sought to convict Aluminum of being a monopoly.

When that trial was ending Arnold was still unable to break through the conspiracy of silence of the press. A newspaperman who attended the hearings was so angered by this attitude that he furnished *In Fact* with the following memorandum which was printed March 10, 1941:

> Near the closing weeks of the trial reporters of the big press were offered facilities for a round-up story. Trial had lasted two years, witnesses included all blue-chip names in U. S. industry. Not a word about the trial other than a paragraph now and then appeared except at the beginning. Parenthetically it should be noted that during the trial the Aluminum Co. embarked upon the largest newspaper advertising campaign in its history, spent more for newspaper space than ever.
>
> New York's *Times, World-Telegram, Herald Tribune, PM,* Associated Press and United Press sent men who spent days to a week gathering, checking news; presumably every reporter turned in his story, but only PM (which takes no Alcoa or any other sort of advertising) carried anything about the trial, the bottleneck in aluminum, and its significance to defense program.

This statement by a reliable man who attended most sessions of the trial and watched the papers every day and now reports that for almost two years the most important testimony was suppressed in the daily press, is also significant for the implied reason for this journalistic corruption: Alcoa began an unusually large advertising campaign.

Now in the old days of corruption, the days when the National Electric Light Association sent out ten thousand letters to as many daily and weekly newspapers and arranged to have editorials and "news" stories printed favorable to private ownership of light and power plants in return for part of the N.E.L.A. $25,000,000 a year slush fund, the bribery of the American press was an accepted and admitted fact. What the newspapers insist on today is that there is no more corruption. It cannot be proved that the expenditure of millions by Alcoa during its trial resulted in silence in the press. All that can be proved is: (1) that Alcoa advertised, and (2) that the press was silent.

Frequently, however, the press was better than silent. Here are a few of hundreds of examples, most of them from less famous publications:

The *New York Herald Tribune* published a cartoon (July 3, 1941) showing an

exasperated Uncle Sam sitting behind a poster labeled: "Wanted. Immediate Aluminum Production Increase! U.S. Defense Orders." Reporting to Sam is Ickes, who says: "Guess the government will have to take over." In the background lies a giant labeled "The Aluminum Industry" (This itself is a fake: there is no industry, there is only Alcoa.) The giant is shackled to an iron ball marked "Government restriction." This is a falsehood: the only restriction was the German cartel arrangement which Alcoa signed and which aided Hitler and disarmed America. Finally, in the giant's head is the axe which killed him. It is labeled "Political Persecution."

The same day the same paper paid off its debt to Alcoa with an editorial called "A Tragic Spectacle" rebuking Ickes for "his recent unwarranted attack upon the Aluminum Corporation of America." The editorial then states that the House Committee "completely absolve (s) the nation's major producing company." It concludes that there was "no 'villain' behind the shortage in aluminum." The villain of course was the Nazi cartel agreement, but that was business, and this paper is first of all a business proposition.

The Hearst tabloid *Mirror* devoted a large editorial to whitewashing Alcoa, one of Mr. Hearst's main money-givers. "That 'Scandal' About Aluminum" was the heading, and "Blame Congress, and not Alcoa" the subhead. Congress is always a safe villain because it does not advertise.

A more subtle payoff came from *Collier's* magazine which after praising Mr. Arnold for some time, engaged in numerous attacks upon him, mostly based on the charge that Arnold was an enemy of advertising. (See *Collier's* editorial, November 1, 1941.)

On June 23, 1941 one of Henry Luce's three advertising mediums, *Time* (the other two are *Life* and *Fortune)* carried a two-page ad by Alcoa headed in large type, "The Democracies Must Have All the Aluminum It Takes to Win!" and subheaded, "You Millions of Civilian Users of Aluminum Are Grand People." These ads may have cost eight or ten thousand dollars or more, and they were only a small part of the advertising the Mellons give Mr. Luce. And, while it is quite true that once in a while *Time* will pinprick an advertiser, it has never yet been known to shoot one dead, and it certainly did not in the case of Alcoa.

Then, of course, there is the case of David Lawrence, who runs a daily column in many papers and who takes what advertising money he can get from corporations for his *United States News,* and who runs editorials favoring the corporations and blaming labor unions for all ills of America.

And a thousand other instances. Surely Senator LaFollette's speech (May 19, 1941, *Congressional Record,* pages 4287-4291) giving all the shocking details of the Mellon-Davis deal with Hitler Germany should have been front-page news in every paper in America, nevertheless, so few papers touched it that *In Fact* reprinted it weeks later.

There can be only one conclusion: The newspaper and magazine press favored Alcoa. It suppressed the news against Alcoa, it buried news too flaming to smother, it printed editorials and cartoons favoring Alcoa, it defended Alcoa—and it took Alcoa money all the time.

As a sort of journalistic postscript there appeared in the slick, sophisticated,

humorous (and gilt-edged advertising medium) *New Yorker,* two articles by Alva Johnston (Thurman Arnold's Biggest Case, January 24 and 31, 1942) in which Mr. Arnold is smeared to the extent of some ten thousand words and Alcoa defended as only a brasschecker can defend. Arnold is accused of leading "a furious newspaper campaign," of writing "self-congratulatory publicity release (s)." Arnold is accused of trying the case "chiefly on the air and in the newspapers, in magazines and books," and finally Johnston states:

> Arnold's greatest ally has been the press. The newspapers are big business, but they love to print exposés of big business. The feelings of publishers are constantly being hurt by references to newspapers as "tools of the interests." They are happy to print attacks on big industries by way of clearing their own skirts. Further than that, all ambitious young reporters delight in writing attacks on big industry because it gives them that St. George-against-the-Dragon feeling. Any good young journalist wants to be regarded as a "fearless" journalist. There is actually, however, no more fearlessness in assailing a big corporation than in eating a double banana split. There is no fight in big corporations. They are timid and helpless. Anybody who would attack a big corporation would hit a woman.

This is typical *New Yorker* writing. It is clever, humorous, very sophisticated—and wholly false. Apparently Alva Johnston is not a member of the Newspaper Guild, or if he is, he knows nothing about journalism. He does not know, for example, that every fraud order against the corporations which advertise is suppressed in 1,995 or 1,998 of the 2,000 daily newspapers he writes about. He does not know, for instance, that the same 97 or 98 percent of the press is on the side of the corporation in every case where it can choose between the employer and labor. Nor does he seem to have heard of the Overman report, the Nye munitions investigation reports, the LaFollette reports on the violations of the rights of labor, the Federal Trade Commission's 73 volumes dealing with the utilities, the thousands of items printed in eight years by the *Guild Reporter* or the confessions of William Allen White and other noted editors on the suppression of news and the corruption of newspapers. No reporter attacks a corporation. And if he does, the newspaper does not print it. And 1 percent exception to this rule does not change the indictment.

The *New Yorker* statement is a falsehood. But why should this publication, devoted largely to perfumes, cosmetics, women's clothes and whiskey, publish such obvious tripe? Why should it join *Time, Fortune, Saturday Evening Post, Collier's, United States News,* and scores of other magazines which take Mellon, Morgan, General Motors and similar ads and repay with friendship to aluminum, steel, automobile and other corporations?

The reason for smearing Arnold has already been indicated. Mr. Arnold is accused by the advertising magazines and by the press of being an enemy of not only monopoly but of Big Business in general— (he has also been accused by labor of trying to bust unions, but that's another story). And, like Henderson, Tugwell, Ickes and other big and powerful New Dealers, Mr. Arnold is accused of being a foe of advertising in general.

Newspapers and magazines have ganged up and tried to tear Ickes limb from

limb; they have applauded Martin Dies and thrown mud at Henderson because Dies works for Hearst and other publishers and because Henderson is a critic of advertising. They red-baited Tugwell and destroyed his pure food law because Tugwell asked if advertising were not 90 percent a social waste. And now they are fighting Arnold. And the *New Yorker,* which hitherto had devoted itself to almost everything except a serious and intelligent thought, gives its main space for one week, and equal space the next, to smear a critic of advertising and incidentally falsify the relationship of the press to Big Business.

(As a postscript, I would like to suggest to the *New Yorker* that it publish a feature article consisting largely of fraud orders, cease and desist orders, stipulations, etc., of the Federal Trade Commission. It should include those mentioning Elizabeth Arden, Helena Rubenstein, Lady Esther, Charles of the Ritz, and a dozen others who make the big *New Yorker* dividends possible. We will supply the original F.T.C. orders and a good brasscheck writer, of whom the *New Yorker* has many, can supply the sly humor.)

One more fact must be added to this short statement on advertising as the agency of press corruption. It deals with the relationship of advertising to totalitarian corruption, which is Fascism as practiced in Germany, Italy, Japan, Franco-Spain and other lands. An interesting statement published some years ago is worth quoting:

> We have had any number of theoretical and definitive discussions of Fascism. But Fascism is more than a philosophy in vacuo and more than a rigid political form. It is a concrete and menacing phenomenon growing day by day, and its state trappings need not always consist of such things as black shirts and khaki shirts, open anti-Semitism, storm troops or Indian salutes. . . .
>
> For the first time we have a book that deals with these actual, everyday manifestations in the United States. . . .
>
> "Advertising, in its spirit and purpose," say the authors, "is germinal Fascism. Hitler was the first European politician who saw the significance of the techniques of commercial advertising for politics. In *Mein Kampf* he used the distinctly commercial word *reklame,* advertising, to describe his political method. Advertising is more than sales ballyhoo; it is a form of social organization which utilizes the most modern mechanical contrivances for a regimentation that is both commercial and political."
>
> If you are interested in Fascism and want to know just how near this country is to Fascism, and why, and through whose activities, you will want to read this book.

This announcement was made by the organization of which Martin Dies' present chief red-baiter, Dr. Matthews, was the head. The book recommended was written by Matthews (and R. E. Shallcross). This was before the employees of this organizawent on strike for a living wage, and at a time Matthews was avowedly on the side of consumers, cooperatives, labor and liberalism. He was then an anti-Fascist. Now he is part of one of the most reactionary bodies in the nation, and reaction according to Mussolini is Fascism.

However, the statement that "Advertising in its spirit and purpose is germinal Fascism" has been substantiated a thousand times since it was written. Man may sell out but truth marches on.

PART TWO *How to Read the War News*

1 WARS BEFORE NOW

The purpose of the first half of this book was to establish as a fact the charge that the American press is corrupt. By the press, I must repeat, I mean the big city newspapers which make the public opinion which rules America, and when I speak of the press I except three or four papers which will be named.

If the reader accepts the evidence that the press is corrupt—and the evidence begins with Will Irwin's series of articles in 1910 and includes Upton Sinclair's "Brass Check" and several hundred volumes of the F.T.C. utilities investigation, Mulhall investigation, two LaFollette civil liberties investigations, and other Congressional reports as well as the charges and confessions of Prof. E. A. Ross, William Allen White, John Swinton, Leo Rosten ("Washington Correspondents"), Silas Bent ("Strange Bedfellows")—then the question arises: can we believe the war news in this same corrupt press?

This question cannot be answered yes or no. To come to an intelligent and reasonable answer we should quickly review the handling of similar news from the European War, 1914-1918, up to December 7, 1941, when the United States became part of the World War.

As for the great European War, I remember clearly Armistice morning walking with three colleagues of G-2-D (press section, American Army) through a battlefield near Stenay where our own dead were still unburied, and pledging myself to tell the truth about the last war and all wars in the future. Subsequently I wrote several articles and book chapters all of which began with a line similar to this one: "We all lied about the war." And I meant it, and I still mean it.

But I must insist as emphatically on the fact that I never wrote one word which was not true, and so far as I know neither did any of my colleagues. And yet we all lied about the war.

We lied because we left out half the news. We sent out only such news as was good, and we did that without orders, and certainly without fear of the censorship. We did that because we were patriotic. But that was not the worst. We lied because we failed to tell the real truth about that war, the truth which was more important than the capture of a trench or an advance of a hundred yards.

The campaign of falsehood began years before the fatal shot at Sarejevo; and while the American press may be excused for not reporting the truth about events which led to that shot, since it was up to 1914 provincial, isolationist and ignorant of world affairs, there is no excuse for a continuation of half-truths (which are worse than lies) and propaganda for the Allied side, which marked the years 1914 to 1917.

In Europe the press itself was part and parcel of war-mongering; it was greatly responsible for the war scares preceding Sarajevo, it was the hired tool of the muni-

tions makers and Big Business interests which found it profitable to make wars of aggression and to fight imperialistic rivals for world markets.

In the sixth volume of documents from the British archives which deal with the origins of the European War (editors, G. P. Gooch and Harold Temperley) there is considerable quotation from the German press, the reactions from the British press, and the views of "statesmen" on situations created by newspaper criticism. Reviewing the book Professor Sidney B. Fay of Harvard's department of history said that "one of the causes of the war, to which relatively little attention has been given, was the poisoning influence of the newspaper press."

From the day of the Algeciras conference to the failure of the Haldane mission in 1912 the poisoning of the press was accelerated. The British ambassador in Berlin, Sir Frank Lascelles, reported on January 30, 1908 that Kaiser Wilhelm took him aside during the court ball and much perturbed said "he felt compelled to speak a word of serious warning . . . the English press had again begun their attacks upon the German naval program. . . . This, his Majesty considered, was very unfair. . . . The English press . . . took no notice of the increase of the naval forces of other powers . . . but singled out Germany. . . . This could not fail to create a feeling of irritation in Germany, which the Emperor might find unable to restrain. His Majesty really thought that something should be done to counteract this anti-German tendency, and he hoped that I would write and say so."

The Emperor, understanding the German press and the possibility of using it for his own purposes, was of the opinion that the press in all other countries might as easily be controlled. He could not believe in the independence of the British newspapers. He read the *London Times* daily; when it came into the control of Alfred Harmsworth, and when its editors and correspondents, notably Wickham Steed and Colonel Repington, raised the cry of German navalism, using cleverly the loud-mouthed bellicose outpourings of the Flottenverein, the Kaiser thought a word from Downing Street would be as powerful and final as a suggestion to the Berlin press from one of his agents in the Wilhelmstrasse.

Everything was done by the Northcliffe *Times* to embarrass and insult the Kaiser, to intensify distrust between the nations. Colonel Repington exposed the contents of the Kaiser-Lord Tweedsmuir correspondence which included the secret naval estimates; Sir Edward Grey warned the British ambassador in Berlin that "a very important paper" opposed the visit of Buelow, who was to accompany the Kaiser to Windsor Palace—he concluded with the statement that "we cannot really control the newspapers in any way," and soon enough the *Times* did publish its attack. To the German ambassador's protest Grey replied "it was not in our power to control such articles, and, as a matter of fact, in one instance, where we had known of the intention to publish such an article now, we had advised against public action."

Northcliffe's *Times,* jingo to the core, was then really an independent newspaper. The British Foreign Office could not stop its propaganda against Germany. But on the other hand there were numerous German newspapers which were, unfortunately, says Professor Fay, "as bad or worse than the British and fomented a dangerous Anglophobia." This was first notable in the Boer War, when Germany's sympathies for the Africans were whipped up by the press into hatred for England, and from then

on up to the European War the German newspapers "were agents of propaganda for a big German navy and Weltpolitik. Often they were an embarrassment even to Tirpitz in stirring the people to clamor for more ships than he planned in his fixed program of ship construction."

In 1914 British imperialism and German imperialism finally clashed and Britain began its propaganda campaign in America, raising the banner of democracy to hide its purposes, while Germany bought the *New York Evening Mail*—through an agent, Dr. Edward Rumely, who was later sentenced to a year in jail, and still later worked with Frank Gannett, newspaper chain owner, in running a native Fascist organization humorously called Committee to Uphold the Constitution. The British were clever. They played upon the sentiments of the American people, the fine sentiments of democracy, and the outraged feelings caused by atrocity stories. We were all taken in by British propaganda. So much so, in fact, that we refused to believe German official communiqués when they told of victories—and from 1914 to a certain day in the Argonne in 1918 when the American Army turned the tide of world battle, it was all German victory—and we played up the British news. It was so bad on my own paper, the *Pittsburgh Post*, where I wrote the headlines from 1914 to 1916, that on my night off, Wednesday, the managing editor gave the Germans the better of it, just to even up matters, so that the people of Pittsburgh had Allied victories six days in the week, a German victory for breakfast every Thursday.

The Hearst press and the *Chicago Tribune* were pro-German. But with these and a few other exceptions, the American press was pro-Allies, and generally speaking the editorial stand, headlines, bias, cartoons and other propaganda helped swing America into that camp.

In no big newspaper of the years 1914 to 1917 will you find a word of the truth which the little papers printed. The liberal weeklies and such writers as Senator Bob LaFollette, Sr., Representative Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr., Professor Scott Nearing and the labor leader and Socialist candidate for president, Eugene V. Debs, tried to tell the American people that this was a commercial war, a war between two rival groups of imperialistic nations, and that the United States was being pushed into the war not "to make the world safe for democracy"—a phrase Wilson coined and an idea he believed in—but to protect the House of Morgan and other banking interests (all Episcopalian or Protestant, or Catholic, and not Jews, as the falsifiers of history, the Nazis and Father Coughlin, would have you believe).

What was falsehood, what was propaganda, what was truth?

While the United States was still at war with Germany, although the shooting had stopped, President Wilson made this declaration:

> Why, my fellow citizens, is there any man here or any woman—let me say is there any child here—who does not know that the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry? The real reason that the war that we have just finished took place was that Germany was afraid her commercial rivals were going to get the better of her, and the reason why some nations went into the war against Germany was that they thought Germany would get the commercial advantage of them. The seed of jealousy, the seed of the deep-seated hatred, was hot commercial and industrial rivalry.

DETECTIVE DIVISION
CIRCULAR NO. 1
1941

POLICE DEPARTMENT
FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

CLASSIFICATION

WANTED FOR MURDER

ADOLF SCHICKLGRUBER
Alias Hitler

Wanted for MURDER; ARSON; GRAND LARCENY; POSSESSION OF FIREARMS; PIRACY; TREACHERY; RELLGIOUS PERSECUTION.

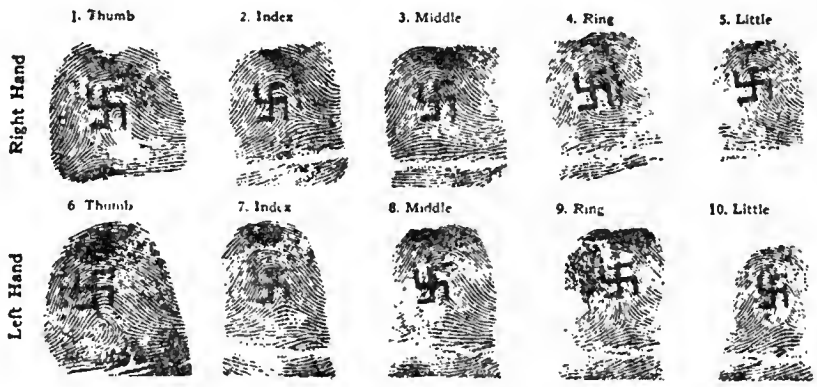
DESCRIPTION—Age, 52 in 1941; height, five feet, seven inches; weight, 150-165; hair, black, shaggy locks hang over forehead; eyes, black, have demented gaze; complexion, sallow; football mustache, eleven hairs on each side; foppish dresser, but has marked devotion to brown shirts and an old trench-coat.

PARTICULARS—This man has tendency to become hysterical on slight provocation, has been known to throw himself on floor and gnaw rugs; guttural voice apt to rise to shrill tones when excited or thwarted. He has delusions, particularly about his place in history and his powers over vast numbers of people. He is sadistic, malicious, bombastic, vengeful, mystical, maniacal, addicted to public hysteria on "race purity;" suffers from dreams of persecution. He is a congenital liar. He has worked at only one known trade — house painting.

RECORD—He has served one term in prison, and has a police record of inciting to riot in various cities.

SHOOT ON SIGHT! This man is dangerous, will attack without warning; he is always surrounded by armed thugs and expert gunmen.

REWARD! If captured, dead or alive, the reward will be freedom for the entire world and peace for all nations.



NOTIFY
FIGHT FOR FREEDOM, INC.
1270 SIXTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY TEL. CIRCLE 6-4250

Effective Propaganda. Test it by the seven methods described in the text.

President Wilson then described German looting of Belgian factories and the transportation of all machinery to Germany, and he concluded:

> This war was a commercial and industrial war. It was not a political war. (This may still be news to millions of people; the entire speech can be found in the *Congressional Record,* September 8, 1919; page 5006.)

As for the other great truth about the war, the Nye-Vandenberg committee had Mr. Morgan on the witness stand, and after its final hearing it declared that the financial system of the United States in which J. P. Morgan was the chief factor, forced the nation into a position in which a declaration of war on Germany was inevitable. Senator Nye did not say that J. P. Morgan put America into the war, but he did say that a financial system headed by Morgan put the United States on the inevitable road to war.

And so we learned in 1919 and in 1935 that LaFollette, Lindbergh, Nearing, Debs and a few others had told the truth and that all the press had fooled all the people. This can be stated as a fact, leaving for the moment the question of whether the press was bought up secretly by Britain, or controlled by the House of Morgan (as Mr. Callaway said in the House of Representatives—*Congressional Record,* February 9, 1917) or had merely fallen for the blandishments of luncheons with nobility and other propaganda wiles, as some recent books on propaganda technique maintain.

Certain it is that many people knew what had happened—it can be found in the liberal or radical weeklies of the time—and every editor, publisher, war correspondent and reporter who knew the facts and omitted them may be called a falsifier of the most important truth of the time.

In the great era of disillusion which followed, the public went so far to the other extreme as to endorse the Oxford Oath—never under any circumstances to fight for King or Country—which I believe 10,000,000 persons took in Britain—a fact which heartened Mr. Hitler no end. In 1936, asked to contribute to a symposium in *The Forum* on how to preserve peace I suggested something similar to the Oxford Oath, but revised to say "never to fight in a *commercial* war." I still subscribe to that idea.

Between 1918 and 1936, when Franco rebelled in Spain, there were many minor wars, including Mussolini's wars in Albania and Ethiopia, and the money sign stuck out all over them. Imperialism, commercialism, profits, rivalries and commercial alliances between the ruling families of Britain, France, Japan, Italy, Germany, and other countries could be seen at work, and also the foul presence of the merchants of death, of whom Sir Basil Zacharoff was the most sinister, "romantic," and outrageous leader. In many of these wars, and especially in the march of Japanese greed across the lands of the Far East, I believe the American newspapers permitted their writers to tell the truth. But the American press lied more outrageously than ever before in its reports of the Archangel Expedition, in the story of the Red and then the White regime in Hungary, in the peasant revolt in Bulgaria, and again in the Russo-Polish war. In each of these historic events there was a new nation involved, a new idea, and this idea was contrary to the views of the publishers because it was contrary to the wishes of the social-economic-financial system prevalent in our coun-

try. Looking back historically on the coverage of many smaller events it was inevitable that the war in Spain, 1936-1939, should have been reported the way it was, and that the Russo-Finnish conflict of 1939 should have resulted in the greatest lying campaign in the history of modern journalism.

If you take any American newspaper of mid-July, 1936, you will find stories which say that a reactionary or Fascist general named Franco, accompanied by other generals but not supported by either the army or the people, attempted to overthrow the liberal, democratic Republic of Spain. You will also find it recorded that the revolt was crushed when the soldiers of the Montana barracks of Madrid refused to revolt, and when the armed industrial workers and many peasants shot down the Fascists.

And then, somehow unexplained, there comes the long march of Franco to the gates of Madrid.

You will also find a story in some papers saying that an American correspondent has seen a score of German or Italian aviators in a town in Franco's hands. You will find references to Italian or German aviators, and also official denials from Italy and Germany that there has been any help given Franco. You will find official Nazi denials that a ship called *Kamerun* was unloading war supplies for Franco in July, days before the rebellion, although that ship was seen and photographed and its war materials noted by Americans. It left Hamburg weeks, perhaps a month earlier, and proved that the revolt was planned with Nazi cooperation. You will find denials of German and Italian airplanes helping Franco although Italian airplanes made a forced landing in French African territory several days before Franco attacked, and although the German airplanes which for three years aided Franco flew over French territory on their way to Spain. And you will also find a sudden change in tone in the press.

The friendliness to a fellow republic lasted about a week. After that the best that can be said is that many papers remained neutral, a few defied pressures and propaganda and supported the republic, but a great many went over to the Fascist side—as did indeed a large section of our State Department and most of Big Business. Here is a sample of how the trick worked: the Armstrong Cork Company, for example, was pro-Fascist because it foresaw more profits under Franco. Its president is a man named H. W. Prentis, Jr. This same Prentis was president of the National Association of Manufacturers. The N.A.M., as we have said and shown, bosses America. Naturally this pressure for Franco the Fascist—and as cruel a murderer as Hitler and Hirohito—was felt in American newspapers and magazines.

There was, of course, also the pressure from certain Catholic organizations, the Catholic press, and clerico-Fascists. By actual count of the Gallup Poll, only 38 percent of America's 22,000,000 Catholics were for Franco. Many were undecided, but the majority was for democracy. Nevertheless, the 38 percent for Fascism controlled most of the diocesan papers and included spokesmen for Fascism, such as Coughlin, Father Edward Lodge Curran (of the International Truth Society, Incorporated, of Brooklyn, believe it or not), Michael Williams (renegade Socialist who became editor of the liberal Catholic weekly *The Commonweal,* and whose wild Fascist ravings caused the other editors to demote him), Father Talbot, S. J., Monsignor Sheen (of

the Catholic Radio Hour) and Patrick Scanlan, editor of the Brooklyn *Tablet* (supporter of the Christian Front hoodlums) and many other collaborators with Fritz Kuhn, the Dies Committee, and other pro-Fascist elements. The efforts of Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago and his editor, Father Rowan of *The New World,* and of Monsignor Ryan of Washington and Catholic liberals did not avail, just as the liberalism of Cardinal Verdier of France and other anti-Franco prelates proved a failure.

The clerico-Fascists, aided by the Big Business interests who wanted a Fascist Spain, and the German Bund and Italian Fascist elements in America succeeded in poisoning the public mind. The American press was influenced, of that there is no doubt. Let me give you one startling example:

In December, 1936, Father Curran in a public speech said that a certain newspaper had been "unfair" to the Spanish Rebels, and he had been successful in changing that attitude.

Now, what is the truth about this case?

From July to December, 1936, the *Brooklyn Eagle,* a large and influential newspaper, had published the facts as it received them from the press associations. It had no war correspondent of its own and trusted the objectivity and impartiality of the big news services. But the Fascists were not satisfied. What they wanted was their own propaganda. And in the case of the *Eagle* they were able to get it. Father Curran called on the editor of the *Eagle* and brought up the fact that the Brooklyn *Tablet* is printed on the *Eagle* presses. This is a weekly of standard newspaper size, about eight or ten pages, claiming 100,000 circulation. Father Curran mentioned the fact the *Eagle* stood to gain or lose $25,000 by its stand on Spain: if it continued as it was doing—Curran called it supporting the reds, the editor called it being impartial—the printing contract would be canceled; if the policy was changed, the contract would be continued.

It was this switch in policy of the *Eagle* that Father Curran announced publicly as a victory for his church. It was beyond the comprehension of this man that any pressure on a newspaper—for good or evil, for support of God or support of the Devil—would constitute one of the vilest examples of corruption of the press in American history. (The *Eagle* today is owned by other interests.)

In Philadelphia the church called a boycott of the *Record* for supporting the Loyalists. The *Record,* and its Camden and New York associated papers, were forced to withdraw their support of anti-Fascism although owner and editorial writers hated Franco, Hitler and Mussolini.

The *New York Times* tried to appease Father Talbot. Apparently one clerico-Fascist was assigned to each newspaper, and the *Times* had to deal with this one. Talbot was given a dinner by the publisher and introduced to a number of *Times* reactionaries including several copyreaders and assistant editors who write the headlines and who are known as "the Fascist Phalanx of the bull pen." In small towns it was the same. Leading members of the Knights of Columbus, the Holy Name Society and the clergy brought pressure on the newspapers. In the case of the magazine *Ken* they started a boycott through the liquor manufacturers, who withdrew their advertising, and helped kill this publication.

Between the pressure on the American press from business interests and from

Catholic Fascists, all of whom favored Franco, and the pro-Fascist viewpoint of the press itself, the public was made the victim. It was obvious that the news stories from the Associated Press, main supplier of the majority of dailies, were biased, and to such a charge made by Jessie Lloyd O'Connor of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, John Evans, an executive of the A.P., replied:

"The A.P. used the terms 'government Socialists' for the Madrid government and 'Fascists' and 'Fascist Insurgents' for the other side. The only reason the word Rebel is not used is because the A.P. has American correspondents in Spain who have been told at Fascist headquarters they would be punished if the term 'Rebel' were applied to the insurgent forces. The A.P. values the safety of its men more than it does a particular word especially when there is no sacrifice of principle. To call the Fascists 'insurgents' does not leave anyone in doubt as to their position. The term 'loyalists' is not used."

Mrs. O'Connor replied: "I do not charge the A.P. deliberately lies about Spain. I have simply observed around the country that the majority of the people who depend on the A.P. for their information, have no idea that it was a liberal democratic government against which the generals rebelled nor that any believing Catholics were ever in the government. If you don't want to call that suppressing the truth, you don't need to, but you will admit that you omit to mention those things. And that omission allows the rebels to put their propaganda across that the issue is between Christianity and Communism."

When I returned from Spain in 1937 I wrote to the A.P. sending samples of their own stories appearing in Hearst and other papers, proving that Hearst editors changed A.P. dispatches, putting in the word "reds" for Loyalists. This violates the rules of the A.P., of which Mr. Hearst is the largest individual supporter. Mr. Byron Price, who is now chief censor of the U.S., refused to give me a reply. I wrote him three times and he put me off three times; finally I wrote to Kent Cooper, head of the A.P., and received a satisfactory letter.

Hearst papers continued to falsify the A.P. dispatches for a while, but apparently Mr. Cooper took action after Mr. Price for weeks had refused. I have seen the original of the following Hearst inter-office communication:

January 19, 1938

Publishers and Managing Editors,
All Hearst Newspapers

From E. D. Coblentz

The Associated Press has complained because some of our papers have been changing their definitions of the contending forces in Spain.

This change in the A.P. despatches is a violation of the by-laws and the executives in control of the A.P. have requested that we give instructions to our editors that the despatches be not changed in this way.

Will you please, therefore, in handling despatches of the A.P. relating to the hostilities in Spain be careful not to change the A.P. definitions of the contending forces. The general management has given assurances to the A.P. that their instruction would be issued and would be carried out by our editors.

The main falsehoods spread by Father Coughlin, Father Talbot, Father Curran

of International Truth, the Hearst newspapers and magazines, the New York State Economic Council, the big manufacturers with holdings in Franco-Spain, and the news services were:

1. That the Loyalists were Reds.

Fact: The reds, or Communists, numbered 25,000 in 1936. They formed the Fifth Brigade which saved Madrid, and fought alongside Socialist, Republican, labor union and peasant regiments. This party reached a maximum strength of 250,000 in 1938, out of 14,000,000 in Loyalist lines. The majority parties were republican and liberal, and maintained control of the government and cabinet.

2. That the Loyalists committed atrocities.

Fact: the Republic admitted that in July, 1936, owing to the fact Franco corrupted the police force, which betrayed the nation, numerous acts of vandalism, terrorism, and profanation of churches were committed. No atrocities were committed after order was restored. No atrocities were ever committed by government forces. On the other hand there were authentic instances of atrocities by not only Franco's Moors, on whose bosoms Franco had pinned a medal of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, but by Falangists or the Franco-Fascists. All these confirmed reports come from Roman Catholic journalists on Franco's side.

3. That the Russians were running the Loyalist war and supplying troops and materials of war.

Fact: the total number of Russians in Spain was 700. Most of this number consisted of aviators and aviation personnel. A few tank operators, technicians, advisers and observers. All reports in the clerical and lay press of a Russian expedition, of Russian infantry, or of large Russian forces, are falsehoods. It is true the Russians attempted to send a ship with 120 planes (the Komsomol) but it was torpedoed. On the other hand the Italians, Germans and Portuguese sent armies estimated between 50,000 and 200,000. The Germans sent air squadrons which got a month's practice and were replaced by others, all training for the war against France, Britain, the United States. Those of us who tried to tell this story found no newspaper or magazine willing to print it. Our press was anti-Russian.

One of the results of this campaign of falsehood in the press is that to this very day the pro-Franco Congressman Martin Dies tries to get writers and others who were anti-Franco in this war fired from government service.

All in all I would not say that the deception of the American public was as complete as it had been in 1927 on the subject of Mexico and its laws reforming the church and state relationship and giving land to the people, nor was it as complete as in the Russo-Finnish conflict which began before the Spanish conflict had ended. But there is no doubt a large majority of the American people was deceived, and that the press was party to this deception.

Of course, the Fascist governments helped in this work, and our own State Department, which is to this day staffed with many Fascists who worked for Franco, handed out considerable poison in Washington. The biggest Axis lie concerned the presence of Italian troops in Spain. The Italians, aided by the Chamberlain-Halifax ruling class in Britain, were maintaining a myth of non-intervention, although every British newspaper and every British official knew that the Italians began sending air

squadrons in July, 1936, and had by January, 1937, engaged in torpedoing many ships, including British, which were maintaining a legitimate neutral traffic with Loyalist Spain. In mid-March, 1937, the Spanish infantry aided by a handful of dive bombers, including some Russians, stopped Mussolini's march on Madrid at Briheuga (called the Battle of Guadalajara) and caused several panzer divisions to run for dear life. It was one of the most cowardly episodes in modern history. On the Loyalist side, leading the attack, were troops known as the Garibaldi Brigade, consisting of Italian refugees, many of them deported from Italy by Mussolini for having been followers of the Marxian philosophy at a time Mussolini himself was stealing passages from Marx and publishing them as his own. (This proves, of course, that Italians fighting for Fascism are cowards, and Italians fighting for an ideal are heroic. From this episode one could have guessed that in 1940 Mussolini might stab France in the back, but that in 1941 Italian troops would not be fighting bravely either in Libya or Russia.)

The Loyalists captured 1,200 Italians who could not run fast enough, and permitted the American war correspondents to talk to them. They wept, said they did not know what it was all about, that Mussolini had fooled them, that they went for ten lire (40 cents) a day, and to hell with Fascismo. We sent this story to America. Now imagine the feelings of the *New York Times* correspondent in Madrid several days after the capture of Italian prisoners when he received a cable from Managing Editor Edwin L. James asking why he "insisted" on saying there were Italians in Spain—his correspondent with Franco had not seen them and had sent a cable saying there was none.

Franco officially stated there were no Italians even after the photographs and moving pictures the Loyalists took of the Italian prisoners were circulating in other countries. But the greatest liar on record to date was the Italian government itself which on March 23, 1937, days after the Battle of Guadalajara, officially informed the British government there were no Italian troops in Spain. (There were twenty or fifty thousand or more Italians there, the Black Arrows, the Green Arrows, and a division called "God Wills It" and others.) Here, for example, is the Associated Press despatch in the *New York Herald Tribune,* issue of March 24, 1937:

ITALY DENIES TO LONDON
HER TROOPS ARE IN SPAIN

Says Only Doctors Were Sent; Reply Satisfies Britain

At this time, mind you, the British military attachés on the Loyalist side, the British diplomatic service, and all the British spies with whom we associated, had sent out complete details of not only the Italian rout, but also of the dive-bombing technique of the Loyalist airplanes and the other modern methods used to frighten the Italians out of their panzers.

Tory Britain, of course, was pro-Fascist, and therefore accepted the colossal Italian lie.

And this brings me to the concluding part of this chapter. It deals with governments as liars. Here, for example, is one of the daily press orders (which Mussolini

has issued since 1925, which have always been betrayed, and which would cost the life of the person who published them, if Mussolini could learn his name):

> January 16, 1937: Never publish news of bombing attacks on civilian populations or undefended towns by the Nationalist forces in Spain. If any news of such bombing spreads, always deny that it is the work of Italian or German aviators. (From propaganda chief, Dino Alfieri.)

Here, of course, there is a direct order from a dictator's press bureau, for all the nation's press to lie. This order is in agreement with Hitler's principle, which far out-machiavellis Machiavelli, of the value of a great lie in ruling a suppressed people. Here is something new in history.

> In der Groesse der Luege liegt immer ein gewisser Faktor des Geglaubtwerdens, da die breite Masse einer Volkes. . . .

You will find this in the original 1935 German language edition of Mein Kampf by Herr Hitler—written with the aid of Herr Hess in prison, shortly after the Beer Hall Revolution of 1923. Page 252. Here is a translation:

> The size of the lie is a definite factor in causing it to be believed, because the vast masses of a nation are in the depths of their hearts more easily deceived than they are consciously and intentionally bad.
>
> The primitive simplicity of their minds renders them more easy victims of a big lie than a small one, because they themselves often tell little lies but would be ashamed to tell big ones.
>
> Such a form of lying would never enter their heads. They would never credit others with the possibility of such great impudence as the complete reversal of facts. Even explanations would long leave them in doubt and hesitation, and any trifling reason would dispose them to accept a thing as true.
>
> *Something therefore always remains and sticks from the most impudent lies,* a fact which all bodies and individuals concerned in the art of lying in this world know only too well, and therefore they stop at nothing to achieve this end.

Hitler not only admits "the value of the big lie" but admits aiming Nazi propaganda at the lowest, or moron intelligence. He writes in *Mein Kampf* (the numbers are the pages in the fourteenth German edition):

> All propaganda must be so popular and on such an intellectual level that even the most stupid of those toward whom it is directed will understand it. Therefore the intellectual level of the propaganda must be the lower, the larger the number of people who are to be influenced by it. (197)
>
> *Propaganda* must not serve the truth, especially not insofar as it might bring out something favorable for the opponent. (260)
>
> Through clever and constant application of propaganda, people can be made to see paradise as hell, and also the other way round, to consider the most wretched sort of life as paradise. (376)

It is true that falsehood has been used before in history, and by nations and the most famous of men, including Napoleon who on each of the two occasions he lost his entire army reported a great victory. But this is probably the first time that a head of a nation has announced the lie as a national weapon. The Italian govern-

ment in the Spanish revolt, and Hitler for many years, have made lying a policy.

And now, let us take all these facts, explanations, episodes, historic events, and policies of nations, and consider their bearing upon the question at the beginning of this chapter: can we believe the war news in our corrupt press?

1. We can dismiss, first of all, all the news from Hitler-dominated nations, as unworthy of credence. There have been times that the Fascist news bureaus have told the truth, but always for a purpose, and sometimes two stories, one the opposite of the other, have been issued, one to a country, for the desired propaganda effect. The Axis nations use news as an instrument of peacetime propaganda and a weapon in time of war, but no news which cannot be confirmed elsewhere should be believed.

2. We can say definitely that the European War, 1914-1918, was a commercial war, and that the same interests which made it controlled the press.

3. We can say also that in every big event, such as the Mexican civil wars, the Russo-Finnish War in 1939, and even the beginning of the present World War, the American press falsified the news because it always favored the commercial interests—in nations they are imperialist interests—which coincided with the interests of its own ownership. The fact certain big newspapers lined up on opposite sides for a while does not alter this decision; both were where they were for commercial and selfish reasons. Just as there were idealists in both the interventionist and in the isolationist camps in 1939, so also were there bigger interests which saw the financial ends of one policy or the other. The press was against Mexico because Mexico wanted the oil and silver and land wealth for the people; Mexico wanted to take them from Standard Oil and Hearst and the American N.A.M., and the press was unanimous against Mexico. In Spain in 1936 it supported a fellow democracy a few weeks, then many papers turned to enmity when they learned that Spain itself wanted to restore the Rio Tinto and the other riches to the people; and that Russia, which has a social-economic system different from the American, was on the Spanish side. In the Russo-Finnish War the entire press suppressed the fact of Fascism in Finland (as given in the Encyclopedia Britannica) and lied about Russia with the same unanimity and venom as it did in 1917 when a new system of government was born.

4. But, because we were attacked by Japan, whom we did not provoke—and because we are allied with Russia, and because we have no intention of seizing the world—although merely maintaining holdings, as in the case of Britain, might be called imperialism—it is apparent that today the war of the United Nations against the Axis nations is not an imperialist or commercial war on our side.

It is therefore logical to say that the corruption which comes to all things and men from commercialization or imperialism does not apply either to our war aims or our newspapers.

It is logical therefore to say that whereas there might be technical or military reasons for suppressing the news at times, or even injecting propaganda, there is no reason for corrupting the news, as there has been in the past. (But beware the day the war ends.)

I write the foregoing conclusion with great care in the hope that the history of the coming decade will not cause a revision. I do believe that during this war, owing

to the strange arrangement of circumstances and nations, and a strange realignment of all interests, from the personal ones of Big Business men to that of great nations, the corrupting element is not present—for the present—and that we can trust the news from our side, at least temporarily.

But, of course, there are many things to watch for.

2 HOW TO DETECT PROPAGANDA

Long before I knew what propaganda was, or cared about a definition, I had actual experience with propaganda as action. I knew that there was good and bad propaganda—and that the wisecrack about propaganda being the other fellow's view is only a wisecrack. There is not only good and bad propaganda, but propaganda based on truth and propaganda based on falsehood. My experience in the European war illustrated it.

I was one of the fortunate twenty-two who constituted the press department of the American Army in France (G-2-D, G.H.Q., A.E.F. to be exact) and who were privileged to see the workings of both true and false propaganda.

In the European War, as in the present, there was strict censorship and such complete, and well-founded suspicion about everything that even soldiers were not allowed to write home. They were given printed postcards on which they could sign their names after crossing out unwanted printed phrases—but not adding a word in pencil or ink. The printed phrases went as follows:

☐ I am well
☐ I am sick
☐ I am in hospital

These were followed by certain statements, among them:

☐ I am going on leave soon
☐ I have returned from leave
☐ I have received your letter.
☐ I have not received your letter

Now this is what the American intelligence department did as a piece of propaganda: it printed many of these cards, which could also be used by prisoners, and added one more paragraph:

> "I have been taken prisoner by the Americans. Do not worry about me any more. Now I am getting two pounds of white bread a day, meat, oranges, chocolates, cigarets, and a roll of toilet paper, the same rations as issued to the American soldiers."

People who have not been at the front, and many Americans who were in the European War, may find it hard to imagine the effect of this simple (forged) postcard on the minds of the German infantryman who had been starving for years, who

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
EUROPEAN EDITION — PARIS, SUNDAY, MAY 22, 1932. — THE NEW YORK HERALD (ESTABLISHED IN EUROPE 1887)

PARIS, SUNDAY, MAY 22, 1932.

Fascism for America.

The social phenomenon known today as Fascism has existed in many countries, in many centuries and under many leaders. Spontaneously, each race has originated a fascism to meet its crisis of the moment. Whatever its special characteristic or name, it has always consisted essentially of a mobilization of moral force. The youth of Japan, fomenting a return to the discipline of their ancestors and the suppression of party government, calls itself fascist. The youth of Germany, ardent to reconstruct the pre-war ascendance and self-confidence of their race, calls itself fascist. The youth of Italy, banded to stem Communism among the workers, and sluggishness and ineptitude in the public services, call themselves fascist. In France, too, a fascist movement developed before the late Poincaré government, arrayed against the egotism of parliamentarians, who overlooked the needs of the nation in their preoccupation with their own ambition.

Fascism is the moral equivalent of war. It is not unlike a revival of religion. It does not seek to set up a new form of government, but it seeks to instill a new vivacity and sincerity in those who already govern. It seizes upon the human elements which exist in industry, transportation and merchandising, shakes them wide awake, drills and galvanizes them. Fascism does not police a city nor operate a railroad, but it is a collateral organization of citizens who are determined to put the fear of God into those who do police cities and drive engines, so that these regular operators will do their regular jobs with conscience and skill. Fascism is not a muscular system, but it is a hypodermic injection which will sting flabby muscles until they snap into action. The function of the fascist is not primarily to accomplish specific tasks but to see that those upon whom these duties normally devolve, do their work superlatively well.

The hour has struck for a fascist party to be born in the United States. In the face of the most critical financial situation in the history of the country, Washington presents the amazing spectacle of more special groups seeking to get their fingers in the national treasury than ever before. From every section and from every type of our economic life, the embattled lobbies have descended upon the capital. Bills to appropriate millions for the aid of special classes or industries are tossed into the House of Representatives, at the moment when federal finances are strained to the breaking point. Congress has one plain duty, to balance the budget, and to refuse every subtle appeal for money that is not foreseen by that budget. In the cities, where authorities confess themselves unable to cope with the sinister enterprise arrayed against them; in state capitals and county towns, where special privilege is bought and sold; wherever patronage is distributed and crime protected, there is the rumble of indignation among householders, the anger and disgust of taxpayers, which presage the gathering of moral forces into overt movement.

Someone will give the signal. It may be a mechanic, coming out of his engine-room, wiping his hands upon oily waste, in despair at the insecurity of his home; it may be a veteran teacher—like Peter the Hermit preaching a crusade—shocked to find the holy sepulchre of our national liberty in the hands of vandals. It may be the clean youth and imagination of a Charles Lindbergh, calling upon men of good-will to join him in a party of law and order. It may be the sagacity and experience of a Henry Ford, summoning men to match the organization of the underworld with a still more potent organization. In every part of the country men are waiting for the call, and when it is heard, there will be a roar of assent from a million throats.

The elements are assembled for the formation of this kind of fascism in the United States, composed of householders, heads of families and taxpayers. The stage is set.

The first call for a Fascist party in America was written by Lawrence Hills, editor of the N. Y. Herald Tribune's Paris edition. Note that he also favors Ford and Lindbergh as its leaders.

had undergone privations and mud, and had hungered for cigarets and gone to sleep many a month over a barmecide feast of white bread, oranges, chocolate. We "lost" hundreds of thousands of these cards behind the German line and in No Man's Land, and it did not surprise us to find bedraggled German soldiers coming over, surrendering, and asking "When do I get my white bread—oranges—chocolates?"

That was truthful propaganda. We did give the prisoners the promised foods, when we had them, and we did treat them well. And it was the most effective and demoralizing propaganda I've ever heard of.

I call this an act of propaganda. If we had just made promises, or broadcast them—this was before the days of broadcasting—it would have been propaganda within the well-known formula. But we not only printed the cards, we flew them over the lines and we sent parties out at night to leave them alongside a pile of fine U.S. Army white bread in No Man's Land.

But here is an even better example of propaganda as action. On the night of February 23, 1942, the President of the United States was scheduled to make an important fireside chat, or report to the nation on the progress of the war. Some 65,000,000 or 70,000,000 persons gathered around radios to hear it. But as the President was finishing his excellent address, a Japanese submarine fired one or two dozen small shells into an oil refinery on the California coast, doing very little material damage.

The President the next day called it "political war." It was rather an act of propaganda. And it was tremendously effective—for the Axis.

This unimportant piece of useless warfare, from the military point of view, became the first headline story in the American newspapers the next morning. It took precedence to the President's speech. It got the 96-point and larger type. It was shouted by the newsboys. And thus Japan, by the expenditure of a few dollars' worth of shells, made the front page of 42,000,000 newspapers and put over a Japanese propaganda point. An incident like that supports the demand of those who want the press censored and dictated to. Playing up the Japanese sub's "attack" was one of the worst pieces of journalistic sabotage since the war began, and ignorance and stupidity on the part of America's editors and publishers are no excuse in wartime.

The Japanese were able to put over their propaganda about the vulnerability of the American coastline, and they were able to put over something much more important: a demand that the naval forces be recalled from their naval duty—from work the high command believes the most important—to safeguard the coast. It is true that the publishers who played up the story and the politicians who filled Congressional halls with roars for "defense of the coasts" were the most loyal and patriotic of Americans, but they were, nevertheless, without knowing it, doing exactly what the Japanese propaganda department wanted them to do. They were disrupting America's war effort.

In contrast to acts of propaganda—which I believe a thousand times as effective as conventional propaganda,—here is one of the best samples of the latter. It deals with the first days of the European War. The actual fact was told simply in the first story:

1. When the fall of Antwerp got known, the church bells were rung . . . (i.e., at Cologne, in Germany).—*Cologne Gazette.*

Now watch this simple truthful fact change into both propaganda and atrocity story in the course of its peregrinations through Europe:

2. According to the *Cologne Gazette,* the clergy of Antwerp were compelled to ring the church bells. . . .—*Le Matin,* Paris.

3. According to what *Le Matin* has heard from Cologne, the Belgian clergy who refused to ring the church bells when Antwerp was taken, have been driven away.—*The Times,* London.

4. According to what the *Times* has heard from Cologne, via Paris, the unfortunate Belgian clergy who refused to ring the church bells when Antwerp was taken, have been sentenced to hard labor.—*Corriere della Sera,* Milan, Italy.

5. According to the information to the *Corriere della Sera* from Cologne, via London, it is confirmed that the barbaric conquerers of Antwerp punished the unfortunate Belgian clergy by hanging them as living clappers to the bells, with their heads down.—*Le Matin,* Paris.

That's how propaganda, the lying kind, is made out of a fact. Note that it was the Paris *Matin* which was the first to pick up the Cologne item and give it just a mild twist, making the effect sympathetic to the Allies. Notice how the *Matin* again picks up its own story twisted out of shape, from an Italian paper, and how it uses propaganda words such as "barbaric" in addition to making the episode a real atrocity. Notice also the usual appearance of "according to" and "via." You will find them again and again in the news today, and you will find them in all the lying despatches which filled the press from 1917 on regarding Russia. The datelines of the falsehoods were Riga, Reval, Helsingfors, and each story usually had an "according to reliable sources," and most of them came via Constantinople or Bucharest or points west.

The value of propaganda in wartime was recognized after the European War, when George Creel wrote his "How We Advertised America" in 1920 and the archives of governments were opened. Did words win the war? If they didn't they surely helped. This is the conclusion of a thorough investigation of the American propaganda (one of the smallest compared to British and German) made by Mock and Larson in their "Words That Won the War," in 1939. Meanwhile propaganda had become such an important phase of our life, and a factor affecting our lives, that the Institute for Propaganda Analysis was organized by a group of college professors, aided by a grant from Filene, the Boston merchant. Here is the I.P.A. statement:

If American citizens are to have a clear understanding of conditions and what to do about them, they must be able to recognize propaganda, to analyze it, and to appraise it. They must be able to discover whether it is propaganda in line with their own interests and the interests of our civilization, or whether it is propaganda that may distort our views and threaten to undermine our civilization.

Propaganda more than ever is an instrument of aggression, a new means for rendering a country defenseless in the face of an invading army. . . .

Never before has there been so much propaganda. Never before have there been so many propagandas of such great importance to the lives of all of us. . . .

HOW TO DETECT PROPAGANDA

> As generally understood, propaganda is opinion expressed for the purpose of influencing actions of individuals or groups. More formally, the Institute for Propaganda Analysis has defined propaganda as "expression of opinion or action by individuals or groups deliberately designed to influence opinion or actions of other individuals or groups with reference to predetermined ends.". . .
>
> The propagandist tries to "put something across" good or bad. The scientist does not try to put anything across; he devotes his life to the discovery of new facts and principles.

It is indeed unfortunate that early in 1942 the Institute decided to suspend for the duration of the World War. Some of its directors wanted to continue analysis even if it implied criticism of the American effort, others thought it best to remain silent. We can, however, be thankful to the I.P.A. for its many guides for detecting propaganda issued in the past and still useful.

The Institute for Propaganda Analysis, the greatest authority on propaganda that ever existed, since it owed its creation and existence to that subject, was able to epitomize the universal tricks of the trade and name them. The Institute went back to the beginning of history, to the first use of the written word, to the origin of language. It found that "the homely devices of folk origin have been developed into tremendously powerful weapons for the swaying of popular opinions and actions" of our own time. Calling someone a bad name was one of the first propaganda devices in the world. Here is the Institute's guide to propaganda:

1. *Name Calling*—giving an idea a bad label—is used to make us reject and condemn the idea without examining the evidence.

2. *Glittering Generality*—associating something with a "virtue word"—is used to make us accept and approve the thing without examining the evidence.

3. *Transfer* carries the authority, sanction, and prestige of something respected and revered over to something else, in order to make the latter acceptable; or it carries authority, sanction, and disapproval to cause us to reject and disapprove something the propagandist would have us reject and disapprove.

4. *Testimonial* consists in having some respected or hated person say that a given idea or program or product or person is good or bad.

5. *Plain Folks* is the method by which a speaker attempts to convince his audience that he and his ideas are good because they are "of the people," the "plain folks."

6. *Card Stacking* involves the selection and use of facts or falsehoods, illustrations or distractions, and logical or illogical statements in order to give the best or the worst possible case for an idea, program, person, or product.

7. *Band Wagon* has as its theme, "everybody—at least all of *us*—is doing it"; with it, the propagandist attempts to convince us that all members of a group to which we belong are accepting his program and that we *must therefore* follow our crowd and "jump on the band wagon."

To illustrate the use of all seven tricks used not for the purpose of furthering Christian ideals but quite the contrary, the Institute chose the words of Father Coughlin and proved in its thorough study ("The Fine Art of Propaganda") that Coughlin resorted to falsehood and fakery as well. Coughlin's phrases—"world-wide subversive activities," "imported radical," "atheistic Jew," etc.—were name-calling.

Scientific tests of the phrases and entire broadcasts proved them based on falsehood at worst, distortion at best. Father Coughlin's "rightist" for Jefferson and Washington, and the words "good Jews" and "religious Jews" were glittering generalities. Under the transfer device were Coughlin's use of "symbols of the authority, sanction, and prestige of Christianity and the Roman Catholic Church"; a sample phrase is his "It is a contest between Christ and chaos."

But it is under "testimonials" that Coughlin committed some of his most unethical tricks. The Institute's book, written by Prof. and Mrs. A. McC. Lee, lists:

1. The use of untrustworthy sources.

2. The distortion of facts or opinions contained in the attributed or trustworthy sources.

3. The alleged quotation of facts or opinions from a reputable source that do not come from that source.

As an example, Coughlin declared that the Jewish bankers Kuhn, Loeb & Co. helped finance the Russian Revolution and Communism. He told millions of Americans over the radio he had an official White Paper of the British government to prove it. But when it was found that there is no mention of Kuhn, Loeb in the three known editions of the White Paper, Coughlin said he read it in a book by Father Denis Fahey of Blackrock Seminary, Dublin—who was promptly exposed as untrustworthy, by Monsignor Ryan. Fahey said he got his stuff from Documentation Catholique of Paris, and that it was guaranteed by Chief Wilson of the American Secret Service. Chief Wilson immediately repudiated all these statements. Monsignor Ryan eventually proved that the Coughlin story originated in World Service, a Nazi propaganda sheet. It was published in Germany, February 15, 1936, and it appeared almost word for word in Coughlin's address of December 4, 1938.

Another sample of Coughlin's unfair use of the "testimonial" type of propaganda was discovered by Sam O'Neal of the *St. Louis Star-Times*. Herr Goebbels, Nazi minister of propaganda, and one of the greatest users of the colossal lie, on September 13, 1935, addressed the Nazi party, uttering in addition to testimonial type of propaganda, about a dozen of the foulest lies of our time. On December 5, 1938, Coughlin in his *Social Justice* printed an article under his own name and without mentioning any sources or credits, in which the Nazi falsehoods are repeated almost word for word. The first paragraph:

Goebbels:

On April 30, 1919 in the courtyard of the Luitpold Gymnasium, in Munich, ten hostages, among them one woman, were shot through the backs, their bodies rendered unrecognizable, and taken away. This act was done at the order of the Communist terrorist Egelhofer, and under the responsibility of the Jewish Soviet commissars, Levien, Levine-Nissen and Axelrod.

Coughlin:

On April 30, 1919, in the courtyard of the Luitpold Gymnasium, in Munich, ten hostages, among them one woman, were murdered.

This act was perpetrated by the direct order of the Communist terrorist, Egelhofer, and under the responsibility of the Jewish Soviet commissars, Levien, Levine-Nissen and Axelrod.

Certainly, if spreading Nazi propaganda in America is a criminal offense, the leading criminal is Father Coughlin. But whether a crime or not, it has been established as a fact that the Nazi propaganda is based on falsehood and that Coughlin disseminates not only Nazi propaganda, but frequently its exact words. It is indeed fortunate that members of Coughlin's own church have branded him a liar. (Anyone who questions this statement is referred to the following facts: 1. Statement by the leading Catholic layman, Alfred E. Smith: "When a man presumes to address so great a number of listeners as Father Coughlin, particularly if he is a priest, he assumes the responsibility of not misleading them by false statements or poisoning their judgments with baseless slanders. From boyhood I was taught that a Catholic priest was under the divine injunction to 'teach all nations' the word of God. That includes the divine Commandment, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor' "—(A.M. newspapers, November 24, 1938). 2. The exposure of Coughlin as purveyor of forgeries and fraud by Monsignor Ryan in *The Commonweal,* Catholic liberal weekly (December 30, 1938).

The evidence is complete that in addition to publishing and uttering millions of words of hate-making propaganda and using all the seven propaganda tricks, Coughlin has also lied and used forgeries and fraud. As is so often the case with those who use propaganda for evil purposes and who use falsehood for propaganda, a great pretense is made of telling the truth. Thus in *Social Justice* (November 14, 1938) appears the heading: "The only source of truth is Father Coughlin." This is indeed interesting, inasmuch as the head of the Catholic Church, the Pope, does not claim infallibility except on those rare occasions when he speaks *ex cathedra,* and then only when he speaks on faith and morals.

Forgery, fraud, lies and the seven propaganda tricks may also be found in the propaganda activities of both sides of World War I. The sentiment of the American people was created or strengthened in favor of the Allies and hate against the Entente increased by years of propaganda charging German atrocities. (An inside story will be told in a later chapter.) When it came to the torpedoing of the *Lusitania,* which was of course a fiendish act because this was a passenger ship, the pro-Ally press suppressed a fact which would have neutralized the propaganda value of the action: the fact that the *Lusitania* carried 5,200 cases of munitions. Strangely enough, several days before the *Lusitania* left New York harbor the papers did publish its cargo list, including the munitions, but no mention was ever made of this later, and in 1934 the chief investigator of the Nye-Vandenberg Committee sprang this fact as a first-rate news story. The Germans, of course, yelled "munitions ship" from the first, but their exaggerated story was not believed or was suppressed.

The Germans played up the treatment of the Irish and the Indians, they condemned British imperialism and British colonial rule, omitting from their propaganda, however, the charge that German colonial rule in Africa had been accompanied by mass murders and a steady reign of terror. In some countries British charges against the Germans were used, in others it was vice versa, but in no nation was an attempt made to sift propaganda from fact, and condemn the imperialism of both sides for their treatment of native populations, nor was it ever suggested (except by persons immediately labeled dangerous radicals) that to make the world safe for

democracy all nations, including British, French, German, Belgian, Portuguese, Spanish, should get out and give a large part of the world back to the people who inhabit it. When the present war began it had many currents and counter-currents in it which confused many Americans, and this permitted propagandists a great play. The Irish problem had been only partly solved, inasmuch as Eire demanded that Ulster join it since it was part of the island, although most of Ulster's inhabitants were Protestants and preferred British rule. On the other hand, India replaced Ireland as the selling point for German propaganda, and the British propaganda reply, that the two religious factions, Moslems and Hindus, would fly at each other's throat if the country were given freedom, was not easily recognized for what it was: buncombe, or bad propaganda. (Also missing from the great Indian controversy was the fact India had great native princes who exploited the common people as viciously as the British did and, being fellow Indians, were more subject to the censure of all men of good will.)

Among the British propagandists who turned up in America were the noted writers Somerset Maugham and Sir Philip Gibbs. Maugham was the only visitor who admitted he was a British agent. He could not well conceal the fact inasmuch as in his autobiography he had confessed that he had carried on such work for his government in Russia in 1917. Gibbs is the author of *Now It Can Be Told,* a book disillusioning to many who saw the European War in the light the war correspondents, including Gibbs himself, had previously reported it. Now Gibbs, who for years had tried to tell the truth, came to America to make propaganda, and this is the sort of stuff he handed out about a nation which by engaging the German Army had (as Churchill admitted) saved Britain from invasion: "Through this current struggle (he told the Carroll Forum) the Russian populace will revolt against the oppression of Communistic rule and emerge an enlightened democracy." (Source: *Washington Post,* November 24, 1941.)

The Hitler propaganda in America followed the same line as the British (and American) propaganda on the subject of Russia. Hitler had announced the Axis as a holy crusade of Christianity against Bolshevism, and in that crusade he had the support of many leaders of the Catholic and Protestant Church. When he added Japan to the Axis he repeated the slogan, making Japan the fighter for Christianity against China, which was branded Communist because one or two of its best armies were Communist armies. It was the same old propaganda trick of labeling the Spanish Republic of 1936 a Communist nation because 25,000 of its 24,000,000 people were members of that party.

The Hitler propaganda carried on from Germany used the theory of the colossal lie. But the Hitler propaganda manufactured in America was different, and at times truthful. For example, there was a little publishing house named Flanders Hall which sent out several books all exposing the British Tories and many truthfully. One, called *Lord Lothian versus Lord Lothian,* contained only exact quotations from this leading British reactionary, appeaser, and pro-Hitlerite. In February, 1942, hearings in Washington disclosed that the compiler of this book was George Sylvester Viereck, an American, registered as a Nazi agent. This, however, does not alter the truthful contents of this book.

Another curiosity of the Hitler propaganda campaign was the publication of another book by Flanders Hall called *The 100 Families That Rule the Empire.* This book was condemned as foul Nazi anti-British propaganda by many newspapers (including *PM)* which were pro-British and which cannot deny that editorially and otherwise they made pro-British propaganda. But the fact, either overlooked accidentally or purposely, is that *The 100 Families* is taken almost entirely from a book published in Britain by the Left Book Club and entitled *Tory MP,* a book which had been highly praised by some American papers as exposing the union between the British ruling and money class with the same Nazi class through the Anglo-German Fellowship, the Link, and Lady Astor's Cliveden Set. In other words, what had been praised as a truthful and useful exposure of Nazi intrigue one year was condemned as dirty Nazi propaganda the next. This, in itself, was making propaganda. The truthfulness of statements and tables in the book was never questioned.

In the early part of the Second European War (before Japan's attack on America made it into the First World War in a real sense) German propaganda could afford to be truthful. It seems to be an axiom that the winner can afford the luxury of truth.

However, it must be noted that the theory of the colossal lie to win converts to Naziism and to confuse the entire world, which Hitler built on Machiavelli's suggestion, "For *our* country, wrong is right," was not accepted by the general staff (with many of whom Hitler later came into conflict). The war by means of propaganda or "geistiger Krieg," was fully and technically described by the Hitler officers Major General Franke and Major Bertkau in their *Handbook of Modern Military Science (Handbuch der neuzeitlichen Wehrwissenschaften,* W. de Gruyter Verlag, Berlin), which became the guide of the German Society for Military Politics and Military Science. Intellectual or propaganda war—geistiger Krieg—is defined by the authors in the following work—and please note that they contradict Hitler's theory of the big lie:

> *Geistiger Krieg*—struggle, carried on by the State *by means of moral and intellectual weapons (geistige Waffen)* in order to strengthen its own prestige and to diminish that of the enemy; to preserve and further its own military power and to impair the enemy's resistance.
>
> *Geistiger Krieg* need not coincide *(in time)* with actual military warfare. Often it will precede military warfare and will continue after the arms have been laid down.
>
> The *chief means* of this kind of warfare is *propaganda.* The *three aims* of propaganda are the following: *firstly,* to disparage the enemy in the public opinion of the world; to convince the enemy that their struggle is a hopeless one; to incite the enemy people against their government and to make them inclined to peace by promise and seduction of every description; *secondly,* to convince the neutral powers of one's own love of peace and one's own righteousness, as well as of the breaking of peace and international law on the enemy's part, and of his being a danger to the comity of nations; to try to win over the neutral powers to lend their help against the enemy; *thirdly,* to strengthen one's own nation in their faith that they are fighting for a just cause; to raise their confidence of victory; to make them unite in a supreme effort.

> The best propaganda is a display of real power and success (page 105, columns 1 and 2).
>
> The use of ruse in time of war is permitted by international law, and to try to get the better of the enemy by means of persuasion is not to be regarded as disgraceful. Still, a cultured people will abhor to disparage the enemy by means of slanderous lies (*ehrabschneiderische Lügen*) though even the most obvious untruthfulness is readily believed by the unsuspecting masses of the population. But lies have short lives and their poisoned arrow may fall back on him who used it first. Therefore sound propaganda, made to last, must only use allegations which are based on facts, and will increase the confidence of public opinion throughout the world (page 105, column 2).
>
> To carry on propaganda with the enemy and neutrals is, in the first place, the job of the Foreign Office (*Aufgabe der beamteten Aussen politiker*). They must command the deepest psychological insight into the enemy and the neutral mind . . . (page 105, column 2).
>
> The success of propaganda with one's own nation depends above all on the people being convinced that the war in question has been forced upon them by the enemy . . . It is in this sense that the government must propagate the great ideal that must serve as a guiding-star to the nation through all the eventualities of the war (page 105, column 2).

In the light of the foregoing policy, and of Hitler's personal policy, it is simple to figure out who wrote the trumpeted official communiqués of German victories of the summer of 1941. Here, for example, is that of August 6:

> Sticking to the principle of unconditional truth. . . .
>
> The Fatherland had even to tolerate the fact that wrong conceptions arose and enemy countries disseminated misleading rumors. . . .
>
> The successes scored on the East Front . . . raise the total . . . to 895,000 prisoners, 13,145 tanks, 10,388 pieces of artillery and 9,082 aircraft. . . . The bloody losses on the part of this extremely tough and bitterly fighting opponent are many times the number of prisoners.

The official press bureau D.N.B. announced that the Russian dead were 3,000,000, making the losses, not including wounded, close to 4,000,000.

The number of wounded compared to dead is usually in the ratio three to one. Therefore, unless the Germans murdered the wounded, there would be at least 9,000,000 wounded, making a total of 13,000,000 Russians killed, wounded and captured, a number greatly in excess of the total Russian Army in the field by August 6.

No doubt therefore exists that this was a colossal lie, and that Hitler himself made it up for propaganda purposes. To be consistent he later said that "the Russian Army has ceased to exist."

The foregoing illustrates two important facts about the detection of propaganda: first, that a little figuring by any newspaper reader shows up the falsehood; second, that the greatest exposer of that type of propaganda which is wholly made up of falsehood is the march of history.

In December, 1941, the Russian Army, which had been "annihilated" and which had ceased to exist and which had lost at least 50 percent of its airplanes, guns and

other supplies, went over to the offensive and scored what General MacArthur in his birthday telegram to the Red Army, February 22, 1942, called "the greatest military achievement in all history." History a hundred years from now may alter the phrasing of General MacArthur's words, but history has already proven that Hitler lied officially on August 6, 1941, and that is all that need concern us in the detection of propaganda.

The seven tests of the Institute apply to the World War news as they apply to civilian propaganda. Watch for every one of the tricks in everything you read. The Institute's ABC of propaganda is also important: Ascertain the conflict element which is inherent in propaganda; behold your own reaction to conflicting views on which you might take sides; concern yourself with today's propagandas affecting our income, business, working conditions, health, religion, social responsibilities; doubt that your opinions are your own, they usually aren't; evaluate your own propagandas and actions; find the facts before you come to conclusions. . . .

My own motto for many years has simply been this: *take nothing for granted.* If you take nothing for granted, and try to find the facts, you will soon be safe from false propaganda; you will recognize propaganda, true or false, and you will be able to accept the truth.

In civil affairs I would also suggest making this a rule: look for the economic interest—look for the money back of everything. It is not an all-inclusive rule, because many of the worst things man has done throughout history have been motivated by other forces, but if you will look for the money you will find the reason for a great deal of this world's falsehood—and propaganda. What except money could have motivated Mr. Hearst's thirty years of lying against Mexico? Mr. Hearst had not laid up treasures for himself in Heaven, but in Mexico. Mr. Hearst has served not God but Mammon. Of Mr. Hearst more appropriately than of most men, it can be said that "where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." (Matthew vi:21.) Mr. Hearst's treasure is the great Babicora ranch on which a liberal Mexican government (which upset the native-Fascist dictatorship of Diaz) wanted to settle thousands of the disinherited and dispossessed, the humble of the earth. Mr. Hearst, being a newspaper owner, attacked Mexico with propaganda, largely falsehood, over a period of thirty years. But anyone who had investigated the financial motive would have known from 1910 to now that nothing that Hearst printed in his twenty newspapers and many magazines about Mexico could be believed, because it was propaganda.

Certainly the knowledge that the *New York Herald Tribune* owner is also the largest stockholder in National Biscuit Co. is enough evidence to cause doubt of the few items on the N.B.C. strike which appeared in that paper. These items slandered the workers on strike; but generally the *New York Herald Tribune* merely suppressed mention of the strike. And when one finds the fact that this paper's owner is also the owner of $18,000,000 worth of stocks and bonds in great industries one can set it down as a fact that industry will receive favorable propaganda and labor will receive either unfavorable propaganda, or no mention at all, or it will be slandered and lied about in the *Herald Tribune.*

If you look for the social-economic motive you will not have to wait for history to tell you what was propaganda and what was truth.

3 CAN YOU TRUST THE MILITARY EXPERTS?

If you will read the old newspapers carefully you will find that there was divergence of opinion among our military experts on most matters until June 23, 1941 when most of them declared that the Germans would be in Moscow in a month.

On July 16 Reagan McCrary, chief editorial writer of the Hearst *New York Daily Mirror,* said over Hearst station WINS at 8:30 P.M.: "I said the Russian Army will be defeated in thirty days. I have seven more days." Beginning June 23 this expert stuck to his prediction that Hitler would be in Moscow in a month. Mr. Reagan McCrary also referred to the heads of the two states at war as "two rats." (Mr. Billy Rose, a showman, later hired McCrary to broadcast for him in a program supposed to represent a newspaper and called *The Daily Liberator).*

Pearson and Allen predicted September 21 that Leningrad, partly besieged, would fall soon and that Hitler would raze the city and plant the area in grass and trees because Peter the Great's "Window to the West" has been considered a threat to Hitler's plans in the Baltic states and Scandinavia.

John O'Donnell and Doris Fleeson, Washington columnists for the New York *Daily News,* refused to change their minds in August, and wrote: "Official information from our experts in Europe hasn't changed the capitol conviction that Germany will deliver a knockout blow to the Soviet armies before mid-September."

Chairman Martin Dies, whose record for lying will probably never be exceeded in Congress, became a military expert on the spur of the moment and declared (June 24) that "Hitler will be in control of Russia in 30 days."

Raymond Clapper, of the Scripps-Howard syndicate, a liberal who grows more reactionary with the policy of his newspapers, wrote the same day: "Some here (Washington) would not be surprised to see Germany clean up in a month."

Scripps-Howard foreign editor William Howard Simms, another former liberal who has become one of Roy Howard's best brasschecking redbaiters, put it this way:

"Adolf Hitler is believed in certain quarters here to be counting on revolution in Russia and a Japanese invasion of Siberia to complete the collapse of the Soviet Union within 30 or 40 days." (Note the use of "in certain quarters." It ranks with "well informed sources" and "on reliable authority" which journalists put into their stories and which usually mean nothing at all).

Note also that all these persons quoted are newspaper men, not military experts. We will come to the experts later. But where shall we place Lindbergh who was chiefly responsible for the myth of Nazi invincibility and for the flow of predictions that Hitler would win in a few days largely because of his great air armada which would lead the way to Moscow?

Lindbergh may know something of aviation besides flying a commercial plane. But whether or not Lindbergh was paid off by the Nazis—and a medal to a rich man is better pay than a million to a poor devil—it is a fact that Lindbergh is the aviation "expert" whose propaganda voyage throughout Europe informing appeasers, Clive-

den Setters, statesmen, politicians, pro-Nazis and the like that Germany would beat the world, and that Russia was a walk-over, helped create and continue the pro-Nazi, appeasement, anti-Russian sentiment which prevailed for a long time. Said Lord Beaverbrook's *Express* (October 16, 1938), a newspaper which had frequently been on the Fascist side:

> What is the mysterious, secretive, over-publicized Col. Lindbergh up to? Always when trouble has been bubbling, his black and orange airplane has flown him to the storm center. . . . He paid another visit to Germany early this year and in between these visits he has busied himself spreading alarming stories here about Germany's air strength compared with ours.
>
> Germany's machines, he tells all ears that listen here, are better than ours. She has more of them. Her production is fivefold ours. And when these facts are firmly planted in the listener's mind, the Colonel will then, it is said, strongly advocate some sort of pact between Britain and Germany as the only way Britain can avoid disaster.
>
> He always insists firmly that he is anti-Nazi himself, but those who are favored with his views say that he never hesitates to voice his glowing admiration for Hitler and the German State.
>
> Early this year he was in Russia as an honored guest and he was given unusual facilities to see the Russian air force, Russia's flying men took him fully into their confidence.
>
> Then he returned to Britain and began to spread the story that the Russian air force was useless.
>
> When the crisis was developing, too, he took himself to France and spread the same story there. That story shook France and may have had considerable influence on the vital decisions that France in common with Britain had to make.

The Hitler decoration to Lindbergh, a "distinguished foreigner who has deserved well of the Reich," was presented October 19, about a week after Lindbergh's Russian hosts, eleven noted aviators, signed a statement accusing Lindbergh of "providing Chamberlain with arguments for handing over parts of Czechoslovakia to Adolph Hitler." The statement also accused Lindbergh of "calumnies and insolent attacks" and quoted Lindbergh as telling Lady Astor: "Germany possesses such a strong air force it is capable of defeating the combined air fleets of England, France, Russia and Czechoslovakia." This is called "a colossal lie. . . . Another unbridled lie followed. Lindbergh declared the Soviet air fleet is without leadership and is in a chaotic condition. . . . Lindbergh plays the rôle of stupid liar, lackey and flatterer of German Fascists and their English aristocratic protectors. He had an order from English reactionary circles to prove the weakness of Soviet aviation and give Chamberlain an argument for capitulation at Munich in connection with Czechoslovakia.

"The bribed liar, Lindbergh, fulfilled the order of his masters. That explains everything."

Who was lying, Lindbergh or the Russians? History since June 22, 1941, provides most of the answer.

The professional military experts were as emphatic as "that bribed liar" and the miscellaneous columnists, commentators, radio newscasters, and the rest. They united

"We cannot afford the economic waste of services of all loyal and patriotic citizens and non-citizens in defending our land and our liberties. I urge all private employers to adopt a sane policy regarding aliens and foreign-born citizens . . . There is no law providing against employment of aliens except in special defense work of a secret nature and even in such work the employer may hire an alien with the permission of the Army or Navy, depending on the contract."

—FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, Pres. of the U. S., in a public statement on Jan. 2, 1942

"There is no reason in the world why loyal persons, either aliens or Americans of foreign birth, should not be employed by American industry . . . The Federal Government condemns such discrimination and urges all employers not to adopt such a policy."

—HON. FRANCIS BIDDLE, United States Attorney General, Dec. 28, 1941

10 Holders of Big War Contracts Ordered to Cease Discrimination

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, April 12—Ten industrial concerns holding millions of dollars in war contracts were ordered today by the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice to [illegible] ing complaints heard in January the committee called attention to others which have been received and which will be acted upon later.

The Chicago area companies involved [illegible] Stewart-Warner

Native Fascism still flourishes in America despite the war against foreign Fascism. The Ku Klux Klan ideology, which is similar to the Nazi ideology, is permitted to enter the advertising columns of many newspapers. Jimcrowism, anti-Semitism, alien-baiting, are rarely censored out of advertising. Race, religion and color discriminations are symptoms of native Fascism.

in predicting the end of the Russian army and also the Soviet system in 30 days. No wonder that Editor Kenneth Leslie wrote in his *Protestant Digest* (June-July 1941) that "the Red Army fights not only the Reich Army but the American military experts and the American press and radio as well."

First, here is an instance of dishonest publication of an honest military expert's views. The case is that of *Life* magazine, which throughout its existence has consistently smeared Russia. This is of course no surprise to those who know that Henry Luce, founder and publisher of *Time, Life,* and *Fortune,* is financially related to interests, including the House of Morgan, which have issued loans to Fascist countries and supported Hitler, Mussolini and the Axis so long as the interest on bonds was paid.

The Christmas Day, 1939, issue of *Life* carried the weekly military review by Major George Fielding Eliot which began with this paragraph: "The Russian invasion of Finland began on November 30 with an air attack on Helsinki that took hundreds of civilian lives. . . . At the right are scenes . . ." The scenes were photographs with captions explaining they were military objectives. All the newspapers had headlined loss of civilians. None headlined Russian denials. (When the war came to an end the President of Finland said only 473 civilians had been killed in 120 days of airraids, which proved the Russian contention that only military objectives had been attacked; the press had lied about the bombing of civilians, hospitals, etc.) Since the *Life* pictures and story were contradictory, Major Eliot was asked by the writer to clear up the mystery. Major Eliot wrote:

> The sentence which you refer to in my article in *Life* of December 25th was slightly edited in order to fit the pictures. I was out of town and I suppose whoever did the job thought that this sentence ought to be pointed up a little; a conclusion with which I am very far from agreeing, as I don't like my signed stuff to be monkeyed with by bright editorial minds.

This is a light way of passing off the faking of the news by the editors of *Life;* it is not the first nor the last time this has been done, as *In Fact* has shown in several issues.

When Germany attacked Russia, *Life* immediately rushed into print a pro-Hitler issue (July 14, 1941). Here are *Life* captions:

> THE RED ARMY BATTLES TO THE DEATH FOR THE SURVIVAL OF THE U.S.S.R. . . . THE GREATEST ARMY IN WORLD HISTORY . . . SMASHING THROUGH . . . U.S.S.R. . . . (KERENSKY) PREDICTS A SPEEDY VICTORY FOR HITLER.

The Nazi story of invincibility was thus spread throughout America. The Russian soldiers were said to be "most stubborn, if not most intelligent, fighters." The story continued: "After a thousand years of ups and downs, the huge mastodon of All the Russias was as close to total destruction as it has ever been. Its death struggle has a colossal majesty and terror not matched even by the fall of France." (page 13.)

The photographs showed "crack German infantry," a "Heartfelt Welcome, Heil Hitler" sign in a Ukrainian village, "Dead Russians . . . gun probably never

fired," "Nazi armored car gets a Ukrainian welcome." Then follows a military expert who concludes, "The crucial fact now is where and in what shape is the remainder of Russia's armies. If they have already fought west of Dneper, the war is practically over."

There then follows a typical Luce smear, the kind of writing which has made *Time* magazine the most notoriously unfair and biased publication in America. Two pages are devoted to "Men Around Stalin." The same publication which only recently devoted its main pages to hero-worship of Mannerheim, Franco and "Cap" Rieber of Texaco who sold oil to Hitler (and who advertised in *Time, Life* and *Fortune*) now proceeded to smear every leader of Russia, just as it had already smeared Stalin and all the generals of the 1939 Finnish war. Here are sample *Life* smears:

Kalinin, president of U.S.S.R.: "He is sly and patient. He has long kept the Moscow singer, Tatiana Bach, to the amusement of Moscow. He is generally a tolerant, heartless old man." (In addition to a dirty smear this statement is also a falsehood.)

Kaganovich (commissar for oil): "A sister, Rosa, first lived with Stalin, then after the suicide of his second wife is supposed to have married Stalin . . . he needs a shave. . . ."

Molotov, commissar of foreign affairs: "A dull stammering plodder and party hack . . . sly."

Voroshilov, commander in chief, Leningrad front: "Politician rather than a soldier . . . no more than a guerrilla general . . . he is not trusted and is not permitted to wear sidearms at meetings. A Moscow joke is that when he reviews troops in Red Square the crowd murmurs 'What a horse! What a horse!' "

Beria, chief of secret police: "a particularly dangerous man."

Then *Life* reaches the lowest depth of filth in this general summary: "Nearly all live in luxurious country houses. They have automobiles, they eat and drink well, they can have any woman who pleases them. . . ."

After Pearl Harbor *Life* as well as many Americans realized that this war would be lost and America would be overrun by Japanese and Nazis if the Russians were defeated. *Time* too changed its tune. It placed Russian generals on its covers and wrote articles in their praise. It dropped all sex innuendoes. Its military experts wrote glowing pieces in praise of Russian strategy as well as men and materials.

General Hugh Johnson was only a part-time strategist. On June 24, 1941, he did not say that Russia would be defeated, but wrapped the matter up in questions:

> Is the Russian army as mushy as it seemed to be in Finland? How about the morale of the people, as well as that of the Red Army? It won't take long to find out that. We ought to know in a month if the Nazis are going to lance through there as they did in Poland, France and the Balkans—like a hot knife through butter.

Two days later he took the other experts to task:

> It is interesting to learn through the widest kind of publicity and within 48 hours after Hitler's volcanic action that our Washington publicity experts predict that Hitler probably will win the Russian campaign in a month and must win it in 3 months or lose the war. . . . If our experts didn't know enough

to predict the coming of what appears to be the biggest land campaign in history they don't know enough to predict that.

The New York Times is the most important and powerful paper in America, and since it is also one of the richest, it should for all three reasons have the best military expert. The man it has is Hanson W. Baldwin who is reputed to be a naval expert. Mr. Baldwin, however, has not been frightened by the land. One of his most brilliant pieces of expertism was committed February 15, 1940, when he announced that "capture of the Finnish village of Summa by the Russians, several times rumored in the past two days, but never confirmed, would probably indicate a considerable penetration of the Mannerheim Line, but would not necessarily mean that system had been completely breached or that collapse of the Finnish defensive was imminent." He discusses the Mannerheim Line anchors. "But barring a general collapse of the Finnish defense—something not to be expected—the capture of Summa and of Koivisto need not prove disastrous."

History (and the official Russian communiqués of the time which no American big newspaper experts wanted to believe) said Summa was the key to the Mannerheim Line, and that once it was taken the Russians would take all the line. (Which they did shortly.)

Having in this and other brilliant articles missed the Russo-Finnish campaign completely, Mr. Baldwin was ready to take on the big war. He said (June 29) of the Russians that "in staff work and leadership, in training and equipment they are no match for the Germans: Timoshenko and Budyenny and Stern are not the same caliber as Keitel and Brauchitsch. (Brauchitsch was fired by Hitler December 19; Timoshenko is still in the field.) Purges and politics have hurt the Red Army." Against this view is the testimony of Joseph E. Davies, U. S. Ambassador to Russia through the "purge" period. Davies, anti-Communist but a good reporter, has repeatedly said:

> When the democracies in the world indulged in wishful thinking and slept in false security, the Soviet Union cleansed its house of treason, built thousands of tanks and airplanes. (Speech at Boston, December 14.)

By July 2 Baldwin believed the Red Army faced "a Tannenberg far more decisive than the first." (When the Tsarist-led armies were defeated.) "The Russians," he said July 4, "so far have shown no evidence that they can meet the Germans with equal force or equal skill. . . . Nor is there any prospect that as the fighting in Russia continues the situation will be reversed."

Hanson Baldwin was not so brash in his predictions of Russian disaster as some of the other experts, notably Fletcher Pratt of the *New York Post* (see later). Baldwin muffled his defeatism in "might" and "maybe" and "remains to be seen" but always brought forward the most disastrous possibilities for the Red Army as the likeliest. In this desire to seem "objective" Baldwin sometimes slipped into complete inanity. For instance: ". . . the Red Army, to win this campaign, must keep at least a considerable part of its strength intact. If it succeeds in doing that—even though it abandons quickly a large part of Russia in the process—the German army will have failed in its first objective, the objective of annihilation." (July 7.)

By July 18 Baldwin was commenting: "Most discouraging of all, from the view-

point of the Red Army, must be the restitution of the political commissar system in the army." This question of the commissars is a major one on which all the experts went wildly wrong. Eliot wrote July 20 that ". . . the restoration . . . of the system of political commissars cannot but be disquieting to Western minds, suggesting as it does the possible weakening of morale and even possible disaffection among the officer corps." Against these ready guesses is the testimony of innumerable dispatches emphasizing the important role played by the political commissars, both as advisors and as exemplars of utmost daring and courage.

After five weeks Baldwin's opinion remained that "The Germans have won major successes and the Russian army has suffered major losses." He listed four possible outcomes, three of them involving a German victory, remarking that a "definite German military victory this summer" was most likely. (Incidentally, at this point Baldwin was going on the assumption that winter would put an end to the campaign. On September 6 he reversed himself: ". . . winter weather will not prevent a winter campaign—the Russo-Finnish war is clear evidence to the contrary.")

On August 15 Baldwin was arguing against sending quick aid to Russia, foreseeing a quick debacle. He complained that "neither the British nor the United States government knows much more about what is happening in Russia than does the American newspaper reader," therefore "Official American and British observers in large numbers, free to see for themselves and free to report the results of their impartial observations, should obviously preface the dispatch of any very considerable amount of aid to Russia." On August 18 he was still in the dark: "The Red armies that have been struggling against the Nazis in the past eight weeks are in many ways armies of mystery. Probably less is known about their fighting potential than about any of the world's armies." The fact that the Red Army had been fighting against the Nazis' full power for eight weeks—something no other army in the world had been able to do—didn't tell Baldwin anything about the Red Army's "fighting potential."

About the beginning of September Baldwin began to see certain specific facts more clearly, though not in relation to the general outcome: September 2: "Russia shows no sign of breaking." September 5: ". . . the Russian armies are still in being," although he estimates Russian losses as "not unlikely" more than twice that of the Germans. Sept. 6: ". . . there is as yet no sign of the cracking of Russian morale." But on September 10 Baldwin accepted as "more or less factually correct" the German report—denied by Moscow—of the encirclement of Leningrad as meaning "as it almost inevitably must, the eventual fall of the former Russian capital." (It didn't fall.) And on September 21: "Soviet strength is ebbing far more rapidly than the Nazi strength."

Baldwin foresaw as "almost certain" the "destruction of most of Russia's western armies and conquest of the industrial heart of Russia west of the Volga." And he took this view despite the "five surprises" which he now listed:

1. The Russians apparently had far larger reserves of material — particularly planes and tanks — than had been believed.

2. The qualities of Red Army command and staff work seem to have been better than anticipated.

3. There have been no evidences of effective Fifth Column movements, or, as yet, political dissidence.

4. The army has shown what is apparently a greater capacity for maneuver than it was believed it possessed.

5. Anti-aircraft and anti-tank defenses, both formerly described as Soviet weaknesses, have been shown to be fairly strong.

Nevertheless and notwithstanding the demonstration that on these five vital points the experts hadn't known what they were talking about, Baldwin concluded: "The outlook . . . remains unchanged; the odds of military victory are still strongly upon Germany." Oct. 13 Baldwin was proving that it was "probably too late" for a British invasion of the continent to help Russia—which "may well have sustained almost mortal losses before such an invasion could succeed. Only Russia can save herself." October 25: ". . . basic situation unchanged" and "Germany still seems to be winning."

But on November 4—"Nazis Suffer Defeats." The failure to capture Moscow Baldwin called a "psychological defeat" for Hitler. "It is quite possible and probable that the Germans will reorganize and go on to new military victories in Russia and elsewhere." December 5 the situation was somewhat clearer: "History at Rostov" was the head on Baldwin's column. "The Red Army is deflating the Nazi legend of invincibility." (Something Stalin had told the Russians and the world back in June.) "It is the Red Army, not the Nazi Wehrmacht, that is now on the offensive. It may be a short-lived offensive, for the Germans will certainly counter-attack, and perhaps successfully." (They didn't.) "The German reverses in the South are in part an index of continued Russian strength—strength that is surprising." (To Baldwin.) "Another enforced pause apparently is at hand." (It wasn't.)

As late as December 15 Baldwin was still hypnotized by the Nazi view of the situation: "In Russia the Germans are apparently abandoning until spring their attempt to crush the Red Armies," he wrote, when dispatches from the front told only of Nazi columns, regiments, divisions and whole armies abandoning everything, including their guns, in fleeing for their lives.

While on the subject of the Olympian *New York Times* I would like to present another sample of its military expertism. In its April 9, 1939 issue there is a story with the following headlines:

RUSSIA DISCOUNTED AS MILITARY POWER
75 percent of officers of the rank of colonel or above have been liquidated, it is said
ARMAMENT STRIDES MADE
But most prized equipment fails to stand up—lack of paved roads a factor
By Virginia Cowles
(A Correspondent of *The Times,* London)

Miss Cowles wrote this story for the most important papers in the Anglo-American world. I met her only once. During the Fascist rebellion in Spain she went to the trenches just outside Madrid in her high-heeled shoes and her fine pretty clothes, as if for a picnic, and she acted that way. She seemed more anxious to go over to

see what Franco was doing than to learn about the besieged republicans. She even proposed going across No Man's Land to save the trouble of going back to neutral France and making a new journey on almost parallel lines. If it would be unjust to say that Miss Cowles was pro-Fascist, then the most charitable thing to say would be that she was neutral in the first battle between the Axis and democracy at a time every intelligent man and woman was trying to save the Spanish democracy from the murderous Axis. Of course it might have been pure ignorance on Miss Cowles' part which gave the American press corps in Madrid the impression she was either pro-Franco or strangely neutral.

However, Miss Cowles bloomed as a military expert before that war was over; she assured London and *New York Times* readers that 75 percent of all officers above colonel had been liquidated, and that in 1937 officers in the annual review before Stalin were not allowed to carry guns in their holsters. Lately, "Mr. Stalin had been concerned in transforming the army into a thoroughly passive instrument." As for military machines, she deduces they are not very good. And the crack railroad train, the Red Arrow, was forty minutes late. (Shades of Mussolini who made the trains run on time--and over the bodies of his people.) And so, concludes the lady expert:

"The Soviet Union cannot be regarded as a first-class military power."

This American opinion must have delighted the *London Times,* the chief organ of the Astor family (American blood and money) which had advised Chamberlain just how to appease the Nazis and when to carve up Czechoslovakia for Hitler.

Another American military expert of the early days of the war in Spain is Fletcher Pratt who then wrote for *The American Mercury* and who later experted for the *New York Post.*

The American Mercury after many years under the guidance of Henry L. Mencken who illustrated the fact that the "bitch-goddess" Success attended upon superciliousness and smartaleckism rather than sound thinking and intelligent writing passed into the hands of two men named Laurence Spivak and Paul Palmer. Palmer edited, Spivak published. During their regime the most notorious Fascists had use of the pages of *The American Mercury.* One was Lawrence Dennis to whom a certain dubious honor must be given because of the millions of native Fascisti and hundreds of pro-Fascist "intellectuals" in America he was the only one who called himself openly a Fascist. The magazine adopted the usual Hitler or Fascist policy of vicious red-baiting. When Mr. Palmer quit and Eugene Lyons became editor, this policy was not changed and Mr. Spivak, who had published one of the first pro-Fascist magazines in America, remained as publisher. (These facts should be known because of their relationship to the use of *The American Mercury* by the reactionary *Readers Digest* as a place to plant articles of a reactionary and red-baiting nature, notably those of a renegade red named Max Eastman.)

In the August, 1937, issue of *The American Mercury* there appeared an attack not only on Loyalist Spain but also the anti-Fascists of America who were supporting the republic against the Axis. The writer was Fletcher Pratt. (In a letter to a reader of *In Fact* who wrote Pratt about the facts which follow, Pratt replied he was not anti-Loyalist, so I urge all readers to look up this article and decide for themselves.)

Pratt defended the Nazis in Spain. His main object was to denounce the *New*

York Times for its coverage of the war. As I have already pointed out, the *Times* had been neutral only a few weeks, when pressure from the Coughlinites and Christian Fronters scared the editorial staff into censoring news from Madrid and playing up Franco news from correspondent William P. Carney. Even *Editor & Publisher's* editor, Arthur Robb, a Catholic, was forced to call Pratt down for not telling the truth in this article, so far as it dealt with the *Times*. Pratt not only denounced the paper for referring to Loyalists as Loyalists, but suggested "Communists" and "anarchists" because, Pratt said, "the two latter parties divide 90 percent of the seats in the Spanish Cabinet." This was of course a falsehood, and even a bigger one than most of those in Coughlin's *Social Justice*. Moreover, Pratt accused the *Times* of favoring the Republic, as if favoring a fellow democracy constituted a crime, and favoring the Axis should have been the proper ethics. Pratt betrayed himself as Axis-minded.

Four years later this pro-Fascist expert of the pro-Fascist *American Mercury* became expert of the "liberal" *Post* and began his career by saying: "It will take a miracle bigger than any seen since the Bible was written to save the Reds from utter defeat in a very short time."—*New York Post,* June 27, 1941.

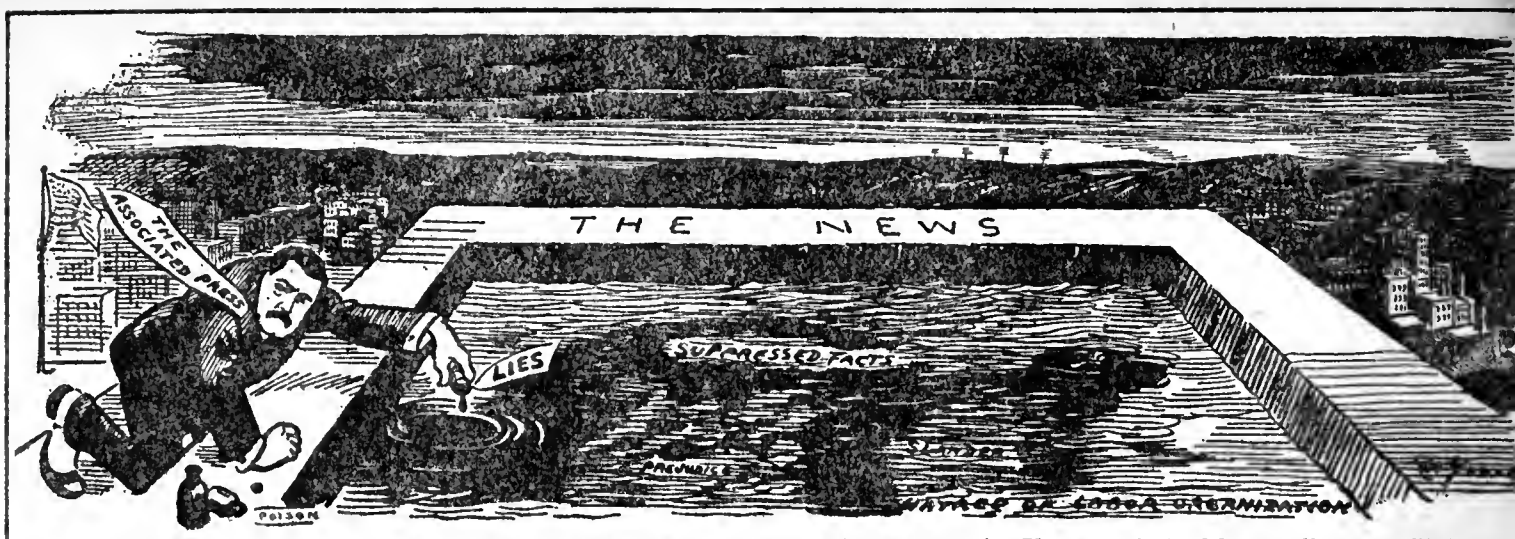
Pratt also promised liberal readers of the *Post* that "the Russians are on their way to a debacle not paralleled in history." Pratt explained he based his predictions on the Nazi communiqués which he called "extremely accurate," whereas the Russian official communiqués "are utterly untrustworthy" as he had learned "from the experiences of the Finnish War." (On October 3 Hitler, in announcing the final great Nazi offensive to take Moscow, practically quoted Pratt: "German communiqués are communiqués of truth." He spoiled it, however, by asserting that the Russians were "already smashed and can never rise again.")

Even after the Red Army had launched its great counter-offensive and the Nazis were in headlong retreat, Pratt held to his propaganda line. This was his contribution to Allied unity (*New York Post,* December 15) eight days after the Japanese attack on the United States:

> A good many people are assuming that the Russians are holding off on helping us against the Japs because they have made a private deal with Hitler. The campaign in the snows would be an elaborate fake, in this view, designed to make the Russian people feel good and give them a few "victories" before peace.
>
> It's just possible.

December 19 Pratt was still heavily bearish on the Russians. Their advances, he said, merely mean "that the Germans have been stopped in an effort to get something they wanted."

In his column of January 12, 1942, Pratt quoted "*Soviet Russia Today,* a publication which can hardly be accused of giving the Russians a bad press" in support of his theory that the Russians had only been fighting 44 out of 300 German divisions and "have thus been beating back only about one-seventh of the total Nazi strength." Miss Jessica Smith, editor, thereupon wrote a protest (on the 13th, and released it on the 26th when neither the *Post* or Pratt replied) pointing out where the magazine had been misquoted, and concluding:



"Poisoned at the Source." The drawing which resulted in the indictment of Art Young and the Masses editors for libel.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Associated Press

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Percy Thomas, Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Associated Press continues the operation of its telegraph system on an anti-union basis and fails even to acknowledge communications from the Commercial Telegraphers Union of North America demanding collective bargaining, in defiance of Section 7-a of the National Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, The Associated Press, upon receipt of said demands, proceeded to coerce its telegraphers to state in writing and over their signatures whether or not they desired to be represented in collective bargaining by the Commercial Telegraphers' Union; and

WHEREAS, The Associated Press ignored Resolution No. 7 of the 1933 Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the report of the Committee on Industrial Relations thereon except to deny the contents of said resolution and report; and

WHEREAS, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union now represents a very substantial majority of these telegraphers who desire collective bargaining through the machinery of that organization, and

not been yielding her secrets freely to build up and comfort the functionaries of the Associated Press! nor, indeed, for any similar group of assimilationists; but for the general service of the world.

The telegraphers of the Associated Press wish to be free from their non-union harness and appear in the open as citizens—men who have to dissemble to hold jobs, in time become revolutionists at heart.

Our bitterest antagonists are men who love any far more than they love either justice or money. They are small balloons dominated by a big balloon.

In connection with this resolution, our International Union requests the delegates at this convention to call upon publisher members of the Associated Press in their respective home localities, and ask them to make representations to the chief executive of the Associated Press, urging unionization of its traffic employes within the American Federation of Labor.

Action on your part will help the cause of progress.

The report of the committee on Resolution No. 47 was unanimously adopted.

The Nation Dec. 15, 1926]

PAUL Y. ANDERSON, Washington correspondent of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, performed a public service the other day when he exposed the State Department in the deliberate manufacture and propagation of malicious news and the Associated Press as collaborating in the job. Here are his facts:

On September 16 Robert E. Olds, Assistant Secretary of State and former law partner of Secretary Kellogg, telephoned to the three national press associations which supply news to virtually every newspaper in the country and asked to have responsible men sent to see him. When these responsible visitors arrived Mr. Olds began by pledging them to secrecy, and then proceeded with a lurid picture of Mexico as a hotbed of Bolshevism.

"Gentlemen," he said, "we feel that this picture should be presented to the American people. We cannot prove it, but we are morally certain that a warm bond of sympathy, if not an actual understanding, exists between Mexico City and Moscow. . . . I want your advice and cooperation."

We understand that it was the representative of the United Press who first gave advice. "That is easy," he said. "Let the State Department issue a statement over the signature of the Secretary of State; every newspaper in the country will publish it."

Mr. Olds made a gesture of fear. The State Department could not charge a neighboring country, with which we were in ostensibly friendly relations, with things which it was not in a position to prove. It wanted the allegations made, but it did not want to be held responsible for them. It had no proof. After some discussion, one of the newspapermen suggested that Mr. Olds's unprovable bogy might be dovetailed into a story of the impending recognition by the United States of the Diaz Government in Nicaragua. And so it was—by the Associated Press.

Newspapers all over the country appeared on November 18 with scare headlines over a Washington dispatch which began thus:

The Associated Press had done Mr. Olds's bidding. There was not a word in the dispatch to justify the lead, but the job was done; the news had been manufactured; the headlines flared; and the editorial writers sharpened their pencils and started their excoriation.

The United Press and the International News Service

The Outlook
287 Fourth Avenue
New York

Office of
Theodore Roosevelt

June 13th, 1911.

My dear Hill:

I wonder if it would be fair for me to let that Willard letter get out. Anyhow, as both you and Ambassador Bryce think so well of it, I will consider whether it cannot be put out. I am very glad to have seen the copy of the letter that you wrote to Mr. Brown. It relieved my mind of the suspicion [illegible] I had had that someone at The White House [illegible] for sending out [illegible] suspicion that made me feel very angry. The Associated Press has evidently gone into faking news about me, both by the suppression of the truth and the suggestion of the false.

Faithfully yours,

Theodore Roosevelt

Mr. George Griswold Hill,
New York Tribune,
Washington, D. C.

CHARGE REDS USE GAS!

New York Journal American

FINAL COMPLETE LATEST STOCKS

No. 10,906—DAILY THURSDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1939 DAILY AFTERNOON SUNDAY

COPENHAGEN, Dec. 7 (by International News Service)—Russian troops used poison gas shells in an attack upon Finnish detachments north of Lake Ladoga. It was stated officially in Helsingfors today, ac-

NEW YORK WORLD-TELEG

Associated Press Gave Out Wrong Verdict for the Air

Press Radio Bureau Blames News Service for First Report of "Guilty with Mercy" Carried on Two Hook-ups—A. P. Calls It Mechanical Error.

Jul 14. 35

An erroneous news dispatch announcing the Hauptmann jury had returned a verdict making a sentence of life imprisonment mandatory was broadcast last night over nationwide hookups of both the National Broadcasting Co. and the Columbia Broadcasting System 14 minutes before the true verdict was announced by the jury foreman at 10:44 P. M. The erroneous bulletin was also put on short wave on several stations to be sent around the world.

The bulletin was sent to radio stations by the Press-Radio Bureau, which had received it from the Associated Press at 10:30 P. M. This was four minutes before the jury entered the box at 10:34 P. M., and 13 minutes before Justice Trenchard mounted the bench at 10:43 P. M.

Twelve minutes later the Associated Press "killed" the erroneous [illegible] on its wires [illegible] sent [illegible] letin about the Hauptmann case when the incorrect bulletin [illegible] ceived and was an[illegible]

ROOSEVELT DENIES HE AND HULL DIFFER

President Calls United Press Report on Rift on Wording of Neutrality Message 'False'

ASSAILS IT IN STATEMENT

No Decision Made on Next Step on Issue, He Says—News Service Sticks to Story

A. P. Fakes To Smear Labor

"LABOR" JAN 20 1942

Sends Out Story That Workers Who Quit, Voluntarily Were Fired for "Soldering"

THE Associated Press never overlooks an opportunity to "smear" labor. This week it sent out under a Richmond, Va., dateline, a quarter of a column story that 40 bricklayers on an army construction job "had been fired for 'soldiering' on the job."

With the world aflame, the incident was unimportant even if true and the story belonged in the wastebasket, but the newspapers played it up on their front pages.

Harry C. Bates, president of the A. F. of L. Bricklayers, asked the War Department to investigate. Subsequently he got the following from James P. Mitchell, chief of labor relations for the Army's Office of Engineers:

"Investigation shows the article appeared without first being confirmed and that 40 bricklayers were not discharged but resigned of their own accord.

"The freezing temperature for the last few days forced the contractor to lay off some of the bricklayers during certain hours of the day. Because of their inability to earn a full day's pay, 40 of these men left [illegible] jobs elsewhere."

United Press 'Falsification' Of News Is Denounced By President Roosevelt

Prog.

July 22 39

WASHINGTON, D. C.—A blistering denunciation of the United Press, one of the nation's great press associations, was issued here by Pres. Roosevelt in an unprecedented statement.

The president, in a formal statement handed to reporters, declared that the UP "has been guilty of a falsification of the actual facts," and declared that "this latest episode . . . represents the limit of any decent person's patience."

The president said he was calling this to the attention of the public because it represents a culmination of other false news stories to which the attention of the United Press has been called by me and by my office on previous occasions."

The story referred to by the president declared that "Pres. Roosevelt and Secretary of State Cordell Hull were reported in administration quarters today to have disagreed on the language of a neutrality message the president plans to send to congress."

It declared further that "Mr. Roosevelt, according to these informants, wants to use forceful language in reiterating his demand that congress revise the neutrality law at this session by repealing the arms embargo. Hull was said to oppose a message that might anger the Rome-Berlin axis and further antagonize an already rebellious senate."

"The subterfuge of saying in the lead of the story that they were 'reported' to have disagreed is obvious because it is a practice too often engaged in to invent such 'reports' out of a clear blue sky, failing wholly to check up with any responsible source in Washington," the president declared.

"The fact of this particular case is that the press has been informed continuously for the past 36 hours that the president and secretary of state have not decided, up to the present time, whether he will address any message to the congress or what the next step of the administration on neutrality will be," he continued.

"That is the truth and it is a great pity that this simple truth of which the press has been informed has been disregarded by a press association."

Almost all the news in all the papers—1900 dailies, 13,000 weeklies—comes from three big commercial news services: Associated Press, United Press and International News Service. All three services are unfair to labor, unfair to every liberal and progressive idea, unfair to the general welfare of the American people. Sometimes they are caught in outright lies. Top right is a Hearst lie. The Associated Press faked the news to harm the liberal pro-labor government of Mexico. It was unfair to its own telegraphers. It fired Morris Watson for organizing an editorial union, and the Newspaper Guild's suit against the AP resulted in the Supreme Court upholding the Wagner Act. Most publishers are still anti-Wagner Act.

We are naturally indignant at having material in our columns used to belittle the Soviet achievement in hurling back the Nazi military machine. Whose interests does Mr. Pratt serve in continuing to labor to find excuses for Nazi retreats and in hunting so strenuously for means to belittle the achievements of a people associated with our own country in the common fight against our Axis enemies?

The prize military expert piece noted to date is none other than the July 26, 1941 prediction of that super-duper columnist George E. Sokolsky (Columbia syndicate, and *New York Sun*). Under the heading "When Moscow Falls" this notorious labor-hater and hired man of the National Association of Manufacturers in their fight against labor unions, published the following column:

No matter what analogies hopeful thinking may encourage, the loss to Soviet Russia of Leningrad, Kief, Moscow and perhaps, in time, Odessa, would but mark the failure of the Stalin regime. For Stalin justified his particular form of despotism on the grounds of industrialization and national defense. The Russian people were forced to make constant sacrifices so that socialism might triumph where capitalism had triumphed; the Soviet army was the pride of the Soviets, the major achievement of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Despite the largest area and population of any European state, despite natural resources superior to any country in the world, despite every economic basis for a modern industry to supply a modern army, Soviet Russia will have failed to defeat Germany. Soviet Russia will have failed to defend her capital (Note the word "defend," not "save"—Ed. note.) There need be no excuses and no explanations except that incompetence, despotism, lack of managerial capacity, lack of initiative, government by fear and purge left the giant helpless and incapacitated. Soviet Russia had bluffed the world for a quarter of a century and the bluff has been called.

As long as Trotsky was alive, Stalin could explain his failures by blaming Trotsky. . . . He answers all questions by pointing to his private devil, Trotsky.

If, for instance, the Soviet government is eventually established east of the Urals, the machinery of state, the center of power, will have shifted altogether out of Europe. Soviet Russia will have to communicate with the rest of the world via China or even via Afghanistan and India. Germany will be in position to set up puppet governments which, while probably hating Hitler, will seek to free Russia from Stalin. In a word, I do not see how Stalin can hold his Russia together in the face of military defeat. I do not see how Russia can avert an anti-Stalin revolution.

I do not delude myself in a hopeful anticipation that that will be the end of communism. Ideas of that sort continue to hold the imagination and hopes of their advocates long after their fallacies have been exposed . . . but the Soviet government will probably be destroyed by the Russian Army as the Czar's government and Kerensky's government were destroyed by the Russian Army. Angry, tired, disappointed troops, returning from a distressingly fruitless war, realizing that they had been misled, turned on these other governments.

I believe that similarly disposed troops will rebel against Stalin and they will of course have the assistance of Germany. . . . Hitler will be supplied with steam

heat and electricity, both of which Napoleon lacked. And Hitler's armies will travel on gasoline, not on snowshoes and horses.

I make this point not because I can rejoice in Hitler's victory but rather because we must prepare ourselves for a shock. Those who believe that Stalin will continue the war indefinitely from the steppes and tundras of Siberia are whistling in the dark. We must be prepared for a shock of the elimination of Soviet Russia from the war altogether. We must prepare ourselves for the consequences of some kind of pro-German Russian government, a Russian Vichy. It is going to be tough on the come-hither liberals who have been dreaming of the mighty Russian forces rolling on to Berlin to save the world for democracy. There never was a chance of that marijuana dream coming true.

From this point, then, we should have to reconsider our own position. Would we leave Europe to Hitler, or would there be a war between Germany and the United States for the control of Europe? America needs to be sure that our answer is right: we have guessed wrong too often so far.

What do you mean "We"?

In reference to *In Fact's* publication (January 12, 1942) that the *New York Sun* is placing big advertisements for Sokolsky as a Far Eastern expert listing one of his achievements as "Editor, *Far Eastern Review*," and *The Nation's* 1935 publication of the fact that the *Far Eastern Review* was secretly subsidized by the Japanese government, a newspaper man sent in the following item. It is *Burrelle's Radio Reporter,* a service which supplies digests of radio talks. It is dated November 1, 1939, quotes from a talk to the Overseas Press Club at 1:15 P.M. that day over WMCA:

> Mr. Sokolsky said that propaganda is an art, not a science; . . . The Japanese are the worst propagandists in the world, he said. . . .They have now discontinued their campaign (in the United States). . . . Most Japanese are somewhat ashamed of what they are doing in China, a situation into which they have been forced by the trickery of Russia. . . . There are no Japanese propagandists in the United States now, Mr. Sokolsky added. . . .

It will be seen from the foregoing that the professional experts continued to predict a Russian defeat long after the lay commentators had ceased predicting the thirty-day walkover in June. At the very time the Baldwin-Pratts were still proving that the war was as good as won by the Nazis the *Army-Navy Journal* (January 10, 1942) was pointing out that "the stout-hearted Russians have upset the plans of their better prepared invaders and made untrue the forecasts of the experts who calculated only on the basis of such tangibles as trained manpower, equipment, munitions, etc."

What was the secret of Russian success? The newspaper experts did not mention it. The *Army-Navy Journal* did:

> Napoleon attempted to place a mathematical value on the most important factors when he propounded the rule that morale is to matériel as three is to one.

If the newspaper writers had accepted the viewpoint of Napoleon and this professional military paper they would have had to admit that all the news stories for years of the lack of morale in Russia were untrue, that all the stories of Stalin ruin-

ing the Red Army by shooting all the traitors there (and in the political field) were untrue, and that on the other hand there was the best morale to be seen anywhere in the world (up to the MacArthur defense of Bataan) and it was probably due to the fact that the Fifth Column had been destroyed in the Russian Army, and that the "purge," which included a field marshal, was no doubt founded on factual evidence inasmuch as the morale in 1942 was beyond praise.

In addition to the *Army-Navy Journal* there were of course a few radio, newspaper and magazine writers, laymen and military experts, who did not join the howling dog chorus against Russia. Kenneth Leslie praises Johannes Steel (WMCA) and Raymond Gram Swing (WOR). Neither of them claims to be a military expert. Two real experts, however, stand out prominently for analyzing not only the Russian situation but almost every major event of the World War correctly and fairly, and both of them never lost confidence in the Russians and both of them said just about the opposite of all the so-called experts whom we have quoted. The two are Lieut-Commander Charles S. Seely, U.S. Navy, retired, editor of *Navy News,* and Max Werner, contributor to the *New Republic*. Incidentally Seely wrote a book, *Russia and the Battle for Liberation,* and Werner wrote two books, *Military Strength of the Powers* and *Battle for the World,* which had analyzed the situation correctly long before the typewriter generals of the press began their hate campaign. Dan Gillmor's magazine *Friday* was the only popular illustrated weekly which did not predict disaster for the Red Army.

Now, before answering the question, can we trust the military experts, there is another question posed by this very important editorial in the *Houston Post* (November 20, 1941; "Ignorance of Russia"). Said this paper:

> Something that has not been satisfactorily explained is why the people of the United States for the last twenty years have been kept largely in ignorance of the material progress of Soviet Russia.
>
> When Hitler attacked Russia, the almost unanimous opinion in this country was that Stalin could not last long. Our "best minds" had no hope for Russia. They looked forward to a quick conquest of the country by the Nazis. . . . Russia was expected by most Americans to fold up as the Nazis advanced. . . .
>
> How and why was this information kept from the American people for so long? Did Russia encourage the publication of misleading matter regarding her possessions in the English language press? There could hardly have been a conspiracy among American newspapers to suppress the truth about Russian development materially. American newspapers are not built that way.

Well, unless this editorial is a piece of hypocrisy, or a fine example of journalistic machiavellianism, which I do not believe it is, it is a clue to the whole newspaper (and incidentally military expert) situation. Instead of being headed "Ignorance of Russia" the editorial could have been headed "ignorance of editors" and it could have stated that a conspiracy does exist not to tell the American people any news about Russia which might be to Russia's credit. The *Chicago Tribune,* for example, has had for more than twenty years a hired man (Donald Day) who has sent out thousands of stories, some of them fakes and all of them anti-Russian. He has never sent out one story which was fair to Russia, let alone pro-Russian. He admits he has

a personal grudge against the Soviet Union and that he is fighting Russia by sending out nothing but anti-Russia stories. When other newspapers called some of them lies and offered up to $5,000 reward to prove their charge, the *Tribune* kept quiet. It did not sue for libel, neither did it stop printing Donald Day.

The *Houston Post* probably does not know that a conspiracy existed in the entire press 1917-1920, and was shown up in the Lippmann-Merz pamphlet. If the *Post* did know of this, why then should it doubt that the conspiracy could not be continued?

It is true that among the hundreds of correspondents who went to Russia a few wrote very pro-Russian stuff, even propaganda. The notables were William Henry Chamberlin, Louis Fischer, Max Eastman and Eugene Lyons, all of whom were more Bolshevik than the Bolsheviks and tried to convert the "bourgeois" correspondents to their viewpoint. These are the very same four writers who not only led the anti-Russian campaign more recently, but continued to red-bait and preach disunity after America was attacked and victory for the United States began to depend considerably on the Russian Army. It must also be pointed out that foreign correspondents who wrote stuff about the weakness of the Red Army, about purges, lack of confidence, lack of morale, etc., etc., remained correspondents, whereas almost all correspondents (for the big press) who wrote news which might be construed as favorable to Russia were either transferred, or fired, or pressured into changing their views.

The reader must remember that there is no money in liberalism. There is no money on the "left." There is no money in radical causes and radical publications. All the money, power, wealth and pressure in this world (outside Russia) is on the Right, and it is the Right which controls the press, makes public opinion, makes all but those intelligent enough to recognize these facts, think alike.

It is also a fact that whenever a liberal gets a job on a big newspaper or magazine one of the following results: he cannot stomach the venality and corruption of the Right and quits, or somehow he adapts himself to the new situation and soon enough becomes a worker for reaction.

The *New York Times* and the *New York Herald Tribune,* for example, are largely staffed in their editorial departments with men who became noted as liberal writers on the *Nation* and *New Republic.* Look at them now! They write the editorials, in brilliant language no doubt, urging the end of the Wagner Act. One of their number, John Chamberlain, working for the millionaire magazine *Fortune,* was able to come to the conclusion that the union shop was anti-democratic. All these writers become the enemies of labor and of progress, and if you accuse them of polishing the brass check they reply that they have outgrown youthful Socialistic fallacies and become realists.

I see no reason to doubt the fact that military experts are in the same class as editorial writers, bookreviewers, and other employees of the well-paying magazines and newspapers who take the gold of Big Business and see everything, from the Wagner Act to the battle of Moscow, from the viewpoint of the gold-givers.

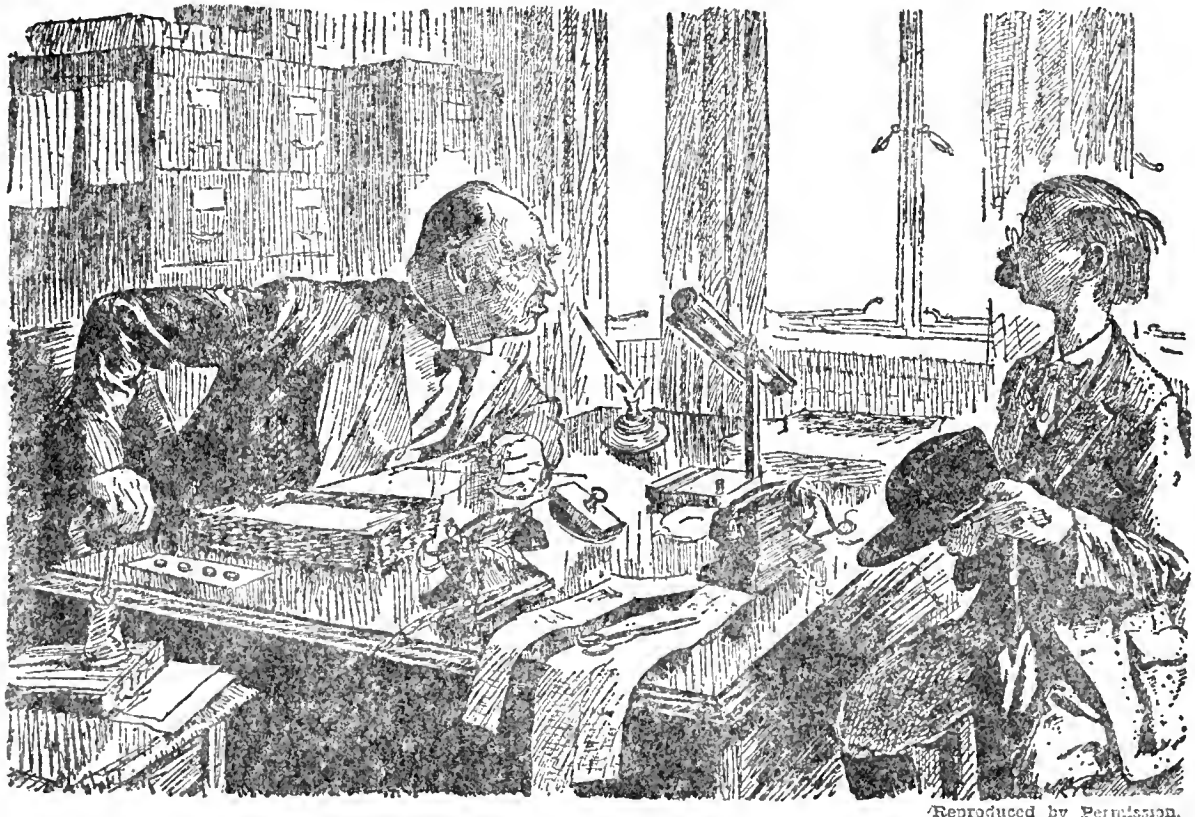
The newspapers and magazines could have had Seely or Werner write for them, but neither Seely nor Werner is the type of person who scents the paymaster and

The Spirit of the American Press Is Unselfish Public Service

This is what the press thinks about the press. It is from Editor & Publisher, owners' mouthorgan, which has always praised such persons as Hearst, one of its chief advertisers. On the right is a view of "freedom of the press" which is never mentioned in Editor & Publisher.

The Editorial "We"

An Editor Learns the Facts of Life



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Punch, of London, publishes this cartoon with the caption:

"We want a leader-writer, Mr. Higgs, of decided opinions—a man fearless and outspoken, who will not hesitate a moment to say what the proprietors think."

writes accordingly, as most signed writers (not Newspaper Guildsmen as a rule) have to do on the big city papers. Seely and Werner were compelled therefore to take their truthful military expert opinion to the *American Guardian* and the *New Republic* respectively which pay one to two cents a word to contributors. *Readers Digest,* which pays up to $1 a word, prefers the red-baiting, anti-labor propaganda of its Max Eastmans, William Hards, and other renegades, because it too has become a millionaire set-up (although it is the only big publication which takes no advertising).

You cannot believe the military experts in the corrupt press any more than you can believe any other department (outside dramatic reviews, perhaps). You certainly cannot trust the bookreviewers. The baseball and other sports writers, I am reliably informed, are usually trustworthy, but beware of the financial department writers. The military experts know that the Sulzbergers, Reids, Hearsts, Chandlers, Roy Howards and all other Lords of the Press are without exception anti-Russian, and it therefore should not surprise the reader to find the book reviews and the military reviews as well as the editorials and the news columns anti-Russian.

4 CAN YOU TRUST THE WAR CORRESPONDENTS?

The war correspondents are a hundred times more important than the military experts.

To a considerable extent the war correspondent is in the same boat with the military expert: he works for the same owner, takes the same kind of money, and frequently writes the same kind of dope to please the editorial policy of the publisher—and the financial forces behind him.

On the other hand, there are many more exceptions to this rule, and there are many notable correspondents who not only have refused to conform to the brass check policy, but who have in addition to reporting the news become soldiers for causes which have enlisted their sympathies.

Curiously enough there have been instances of war correspondents fighting (journalistically) for democratic Spain and a year later fighting for Fascist Finland. The explanation is that the war correspondent is not always keen enough to penetrate the propagandas of nations and is frequently their victim. Some are dishonest. The majority are honest, but of this a considerable number conforms more or less to the economic bias of the proprietor.

In the old days the war correspondent was merely the reporter of war. The Richard Harding Davis boys rode their white steeds into the landscape, captured blockhouses and flags, dodged through enemy lines, participated in great battles, made death-defying escapes, committed countless deeds of derring-do, and lived to tell the tale on the front page. But today a realization of the immensity of war and of the immense issues at stake has sobered the war correspondent (who is usually also

the foreign correspondent of his paper) and given depth to his writings and importance to his words.

The case of Walter Duranty is perhaps the most interesting.

When the frauds and poisons of the *New York Times* were analyzed by Lippmann and Merz in 1920, they found that among the worst of the anti-Russian stories were several signed by Walter Duranty, but the actual source of the news was usually the French Foreign Office, the anonymous source of considerable corruption known as the Quai d'Orsay. Nevertheless, the Russian authorities, who for several years had refused entry to all newspapermen because they had learned by experience that 90 percent of them or more pretended fairness and attacked the country the moment they were safely outside, included Duranty among the score permitted to go to Moscow when Herbert Hoover made press representation a part of his treaty with Litvinoff in 1922.

Each of us assigned to Russia that year approached the Bolshevik problem in his own way. For Floyd Gibbons it was nothing but a dramatic spectacle, a race between life and death, great suffering, much heroism; the greatest tragedy in the world since the European War became a reporter's holiday. He wrote about Russia as he would about a prizefight and on occasions he scooped the world. Fischer, Chamberlin and Eastman, as I have said, were redder than the rose, and made the halls of the Savoy Hotel ring with their Bolshevik propaganda. The majority were on the anti side. A few, like Donald Day, made no effort to find the truth, but the majority, although anti, were fair except that when occasion and the censorship permitted, they colored the news to suit their prejudices.

The one exception, the member of neither camp, was Duranty. Born in Britain and educated to be a good European, he was trained at Cambridge to enter the British Foreign Office where his career would have been brilliant. He has a mind particularly apt for high diplomacy. He is cold but not indifferent, intensely interested yet capable of disinterestedness, considerably a machiavellian and somewhat of a cynic. He came to Russia free from emotionalism and the Messianic complexes of the Messrs. Fischer, Chamberlin, Eastman & Co., and although he had admitted writing some of the tripe already exposed it was not a raw conscience but a good journalistic sense which led him to objectivity and a real desire to present the facts in the case.

As *New York Times* correspondent he did repair much of the damage which that paper had done to its reputation. Although the *Times* merely raised its Olympian nose above the stink of the Lippmann-Merz muckraking, it must have gotten a whiff of it in its corporate soul, for it told Duranty to tell the truth. Thus Duranty was placed in the rare, almost unique position of being sent to report a dangerous, controversial subject without prior instructions from the paper owner, without the usual little hints and innuendoes and the taken-for-granted acceptances of biased reporting.

The first thing that happened, of course, was that the Bolshevik-baiters raised the cry that Duranty had sold the *Times* down Nevsky Prospect and even today Social Democrats charge him with "playing the Soviet game." Some friends accused him of hitching his wagon to the Soviet star. But the nearest to a comprehensive analysis is that made by Stalin himself. "You have done a good job," the man of steel said in 1933; "in your reporting of the U.S.S.R., although you are not a Marxist,

because you tried to tell the truth about our country and to understand it and explain it to your readers. I might say that you bet on our horse to win when others thought it had no chance, and I am sure you have not lost by it."

When his employment with the *Times* approached its end, Duranty wrote *I Write as I Please,* in which he says of his work:

> The Polish War began according to schedule in May (1920). . . . I was unable to cover it on the spot . . . with the result that I tried to cover the war from Paris with the help of what I had learned the previous winter about the Polish and Soviet Armies and the probable Polish objectives. And a pretty poor job I made of it, partly because the French press, from which I got most of my information, was unduly prejudiced in favor of Poland, partly owing to the fact that I was unaware that the Red Army had been radically reorganized after the Civil War. (It seems that the military experts of 1941 also had their minds on the Red Army of pre-1920.)
>
> Although like most foreigners I had been prejudiced against the Bolsheviks, this did not necessarily mean that I would send untrue or unfair reports from the Soviet Union. (This is an understatement. Duranty was the most objective correspondent in the country.)
>
> I had no intention of being an apologist for the Stalin administration; all that I was thinking of was that I had "doped out" the line that the administration must follow, and when it did follow that line I naturally felt that it was right.

In the course of years the *Times,* having restored its reputation for fairness about Russia, began to hunger for the fleshpots of reaction; Adolph Ochs had died and was succeeded by his son-in-law Arthur Hays Sulzberger and Managing Editor Carr van Anda by Edwin L. James, who had always been Duranty's nemesis. Duranty had been in the habit of resigning and planning leaves of absences to write novels and a book of philosophy. He was unaware how large an intrigue against him flourished among the native Fascisti in the *Times* editorial offices, what tremendous pressure had been exerted against Ochs by business interests and red-baiters of all religions. Many members of the editorial staff have told me that Duranty would have been fired years earlier were the editors not sensitive to the impending storm of criticism which would arise from the liberal weeklies including those which in 1920 had caught the *Times* in journalistic *flagrante delicto* and common prostitution. And so Messrs. Sulzberger and James diplomatically and gradually eased Mr Duranty out of Moscow, and eventually out of the *Times* system. He was and is still employed from time to time by the North American Newspaper Alliance, which the *Times* dominates, and it is most interesting to find that in the Spring of 1941 Duranty's despatches from Russia were suppressed by the *Times.*

To this charge James replied: "Of a series of eight articles by Mr. Duranty, we printed, I believe, five or six and did not print the other two because they did not seem to contain much news. . . . The charge so often made about 'suppression' in newspaper offices can only be made in complete ignorance of how a newspaper is put together. We print about 150,000 words of news a night and we receive about 400,000 words. . . . To say that we 'suppress' 250,000 words . . . would be absurd. . . .

It would be just as sensible as saying that we 'suppressed' Mr. Duranty's articles."

This statement was made to journalists. If it had been made to laymen, it might have meant something, but no journalist could be taken in by such specious propaganda. Those were the times when every word from Russia was precious, and the *Baltimore Sun* and other N.A.N.A. subscribers ran them all.

In May I saw Walter again and I asked him if the *Times* was suppressing his stuff.

"The *Times* is suppressing my stuff," Walter replied.

Here is another kind of newspaper man and another type of organization: H. R. Knickerbocker who until recently, when he joined the new *Chicago Sun,* was a leading Hearst man in Europe. Here is a sample of his writing:

> The Spanish Civil War, where I spent five months at the front, only epitomizes what many thoughtful people on this side now believe will be the fate of Europe. The ferocity of that conflict makes our own dreadful American Civil War seem, by comparison, an amiable discussion.
>
> I have seen five old women freshly executed, their bodies lying in a heap on the roadside—one of them with bullets through her hand as she had lifted it to screen her eyes from the rifles. There was something abominably shameless in the way their executioners had left their bodies in the ditch to be viewed by all. I have seen two youths, bound by wire back to back, dead from flames of gasoline poured upon them by their executioners. Prisoners are shot without trial. Wounded prisoners are hand-grenaded to death in their hospital beds. I have seen aviators parachuting from their flaming planes, dangling dead beneath their parachutes as the enemy fighters machinegunned them.
>
> All this, and worse that can't be told, was done in the name of idealism and all of it springs from that mania which has seized upon Europe and passes under the name of the "class war." (June 1937 issue, Hearst *International-Cosmopolitan.)*

This is, of course, an important story, well told, calculated to stir the emotions of all people. But if it does not raise a question in your mind, it is proof that you, like millions who read the Hearst magazine, were fooled.

The question is: on which side was Knickerbocker? Who committed these atrocities which he witnessed? And why did he suppress the most important facts?

Mr. Knickerbocker was on Franco's side. As all of us who were on the anti-Fascist side knew, there were no atrocities there. (I have mentioned the excesses of the chaotic first week or two when Franco took the police and army away.) The Loyalists did not murder, they did not burn men alive, they did not commit brutal and terrible deeds which are commonplace among Fascists and which are part of the Fascist mental and moral makeup.

Mr. Knickerbocker was riding with Colonel Bolin, head of the Franco press section. The journalists were being taken for a ride: to be shown how fine everything was on the Fascist side. They came upon this murder of some old women—grandmothers—by accident, and when Knickerbocker asked questions, Colonel Bolin replied, "Well, gentlemen, these must have been *very* bad ladies."

Knickerbocker should have written: I was on Franco's side. I saw the murder

of these old women. The youths tied with wire and set on fire were murdered by Franco. It was the Franco outfit which killed the wounded in their beds in the hospital in Toledo. But he did not say this. He said he was in Spain but he did not say on which side, and since the Franco propagandists had been yelling atrocities, and since every Catholic publication in the country, and every clerico-Fascist radio speaker in the country had repeated the atrocity falsehoods, the Knickerbocker piece—one of the few rare authentic eyewitness accounts of an atrocity and therefore tremendously valuable as evidence—was added to the lies against the Loyalists, especially because it appeared in the Hearst press, which was on the Franco side.

The Franco murders were not committed in the name of idealism. Franco was subsidized by Rio Tinto mines, the Duke of Alba, whose lands were so long and wide it was said he could enter Spain at Hendaye and reach the southern coast without once leaving his own properties, and Juan March, the notorious smuggler and tobacco monopolist. The Fascist rebellion was motivated by money, profits, big business, and had the support of the big business interests, the Cliveden Set, and the Tory rulers of England and other countries. Franco raised the Catholic issue as a piece of propaganda—and he also placed the medals of the Sacred Heart of Jesus on the uniforms of his Mohammedan Moors who were paid (usually in fake money, including old German marks) to commit atrocities.

There remains, of course, the possibility that Knickerbocker wrote the truth and that the Hearst editor faked the story to conform to Mr. Hearst's views. But this excuse is not likely because Knickerbocker mentions idealism on the Franco side, brings out a false issue of "class war," when in truth it was the Axis Fascist war against democracy, and because Knickerbocker continued to write redbaiting and prejudiced stories.

Now here is a third type of war correspondent. He also was with Franco. His name is Edmond L. Taylor, who was Paris correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*. When he returned from Spain he was asked to address the American Club of Paris, a collection of business men, most of them on the fascist side. But Taylor is no brass-checker a la Knickerbocker. He began by saying:

> I wish to affirm that my remarks are not influenced by any political doctrine, I am neither Socialist nor liberal, in fact I am not even sure I am a democrat. . . . I am a Catholic, not exactly orthodox, but nevertheless a Catholic. . . .
> (This is my own translation from the French newspapers. This story did not appear in the American newspapers, and it was suppressed in the Paris *Herald Tribune*, the daily which had incorporated the Paris edition of the *Chicago Tribune*. The *Herald* ran a few paragraphs picking out those criticizing both sides, but suppressing those exposing Franco. Laurence Hills, editor, was a Fascist. And, in addition, the Franco forces were the best-paying tenants of the *Herald* office building in Paris.)
>
> Franco's soldiers can only be likened to mad dogs (continued Taylor).
>
> It is unbearable that these people, who are behaving like wild animals, should at the same time announce themselves as the champions and fighters for western civilization. I despise their ringing phrases, their hypocrisy, their lying propaganda. . . .

> The Fascists among Franco's troops have their own mentality. They play a small part in the warfare but they have taken over the functions of the police and the carrying out of executions behind the front. In Talavera one of their women, the wife of a Fascist, had charge of the shootings. She had no official position, but as a favor she was permitted to execute the prisoners, because she said she enjoyed it so much. . . .
>
> The Foreign Legionnaires and the Moors are inhuman. They are, so to speak, professional executioners. I have never been able to understand why they took the trouble, for example, to bind the hands and feet of the seven Republican prisoners before they shot them. I saw the same spectacle in the neighborhood of Toledo, but this time there were twenty-four men who were bound together with string. . . .
>
> I was still more outraged when I heard the history which the members of the Foreign Legion themselves told me of how they stormed the hospital of Saint John in Toledo. A handful of Reds had fled there for shelter. The Legionnaires killed them with bayonet and handgrenades, then they murdered all the wounded in their beds. This is not the official version but the Legionnaires themselves admit they have never in their lives caused so much slaughter. . . .
>
> The saddest thing about this war is that I never heard anyone on my side ever say one generous or magnanimous word for the enemy. It is because they don't regard the Loyalists as human. They murder them like dogs. They make no prisoners or nearly none, and they kill everyone, men and women.
>
> The spirituality of the Franco Army is that of lynchers in our Southern states. . . .

As a final example of the work of war correspondents and the newspaper handling of their dispatches, there is the contrasting case of William P. Carney and Herbert L. Matthews representing the *Times* with Franco and the Loyalists respectively. I have told this story in detail in *Lords of the Press,* and will mention only some high points.

Carney associated with the Fascists, wrote their propaganda, and the *Times* did nothing, despite protests from liberals including such notable people as Madariaga. When Franco rebelled, Carney stayed in Madrid and sent stories calculated by the Republic to give not only aid and comfort to the enemy, but military information. When Carney reached Paris in December, 1936, he wrote cables telling Franco where every anti-aircraft battery was located in Madrid, and several days later Franco shelled them. Many of Carney's printed statements, such as "The International Column . . . the 10th, 11th and 12th battalions. They are mostly Russians . . ." are falsehoods. Carney's claim he had to present Spanish translations with his cables is called "an absolute lie" by the censor to whom Carney submitted his writings (Ilse Kulczar). Finally, towards the close of the war, a memorial praising Franco was signed by notable Catholic clergy and laymen, and two *New York Times* men were signers, including Carney.

On the other hand, Matthews risked his life to prove that every word he had written was true. He was completely objective and factual, nevertheless he was continually questioned and badgered by Mr. James until he felt "terrorized." (The *Times* attorney thought use of that word, during trial of *Times*—for employing spies and be-

ing unfair to labor—was not warranted. But that is how Matthews felt, and the cables which caused that feeling were shown to the press corps by the censor.) It was James who asked Matthews by cable why he insisted on reporting the presence of Italian troops in Spain when Carney said there were none. Matthews had seen them; so had all of us, but the *Times* believed in Carney.

It is hardly necessary for me to point any morals in the case of Duranty, Knickerbocker, Taylor, Carney and Matthews. Among newspapermen as among all men there are Fascists and anti-Fascists, propagandists for good and propagandists for evil, and persons with warped minds as well as persons of good will. But it is evident also that where the foreign correspondent is honest and objective and tries to do a decent job he is frequently prevented by his own editor or publisher. Mr. Sulzberger of the *Times* goes around the country delivering lectures in which he calls himself and his paper liberal, because he is evidently incapable of realizing what liberalism is. He points to his publishing both Carney and Matthews as proof of objectivity, obviously incapable of deciding between a pro-Fascist propagandist and an honest war correspondent. Knickerbocker, who was once a liberal, either wrote to please Hearst, the most notorious Fascist in America, or permitted the *Cosmopolitan* editor to change his stuff. Taylor, who admitted he was not anti-Fascist, had his stuff suppressed when it exposed Fascist atrocities. The truth from Spain got small space. Hemingway and other writers who favored the democratic side got little space. The famous playwright Lillian Hellman was asked by Walter Winchell to write his column one day, but since it was pro-Loyalist Hearst suppressed it. Westbrook Pegler, who wrote in his column that he was born in the Catholic Church but that he would rather see General Franco in hell than in church, was suppressed by Roy Howard, head of the Scripps-Howard chain of newspapers.

Many war correspondents are not very bright and some are caught up in their own sentimentality or fall easy victims to the great reactionary propaganda which pervades the entire world. It so happens that certain war correspondents who for a few months lived through one of the great periods of enlightenment—the greatest meaning of the war in Spain—were almost immediately afterwards trapped by the buncombe of "poor little Finland" and "democratic" Finland—also that cheap propaganda trick, "debt-paying Finland." The truth about Finland is the same as about most European nations: there were democrats in Finland, also monarchists; there were Communists, Socialists and Fascists, and sometimes one coalition or one party was on top and sometimes another. In Finland the Mannerheim party was frequently on top, and Mannerheim was not only a former Tsarist officer, but proportionately the worst butcher—mass-murderer—in Europe. The 15,000 workmen he murdered in 1918 (Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th edition, Vol. 9, page 254) are not his only victims; Mannerheim preceded the Nazis in mass murder through starvation and disease. His 73,915 "prisoners of war," including 4,600 women, were exterminated without recourse to machine guns, and this death toll of almost 100,000 in a nation the size of Finland places Mannerheim far above Admiral Horthy of Hungary, Franco of Spain and Hitler of Germany in dealing death proportionately to population.

Nevertheless the war correspondents without one exception were carried away on

the waves of propaganda—some similar to the old 1917 anti-Russian stuff—and transmuted their emotions into the biggest campaign of lies in modern history. I will not repeat them here. But it is to the credit of at least a few of them that they confessed later. Unfortunately the lies made the front page of the world press and the confessions were either not printed, or reported in trade papers and in books written too late. Here are samples:

Wade Werner, Associated Press, main source of news in American press: "Censored dispatches from Finland naturally were top-heavy with damage to schools and hospitals, with casualties among civilians rather than among soldiers. Yet I honestly believe the Bolsheviks were not deliberately trying to bomb civilians." (Source: speech at AP banquet, New York City, April 23, 1940.)

William L. White, *N. Y. Post*: "When I was in Finland all of us American correspondents got badly sucked in on a story about a Russian bombing attack on a beautiful but obsolete old 10th Century castle in Abo. Only, it turned out later, this particular art treasure was about a hundred yards from a wharf onto which the Finns were unloading military supplies from abroad, and which was therefore fair game for bombers in any kind of war."

There was also a heartrending story of a terrible atrocity: the bombing of a monastery inhabited presumably by Finnish monks. After the war was over the correspondents confessed it was inhabited by military supplies as well.

Leland Stowe (Stowe of the *Post* had done well by Loyalist Spain, but in "little Finland" he found what he thought was the same situation, though later he confessed he had not seen what he wrote about): "An almost unprecedented secret war and what correspondents see is most carefully restricted. . . . I have never been within hearing distance either of rifle or artillery fire. . . . No correspondent knows more than a fraction of what has happened in any sector. . . . I have never seen as many as 500 Finnish soldiers in any one place." (*Editor & Publisher,* February 3, 1940.)

> On the Finnish front we have war without war correspondents. . . . Circumstances compel us to report all important military engagements either at second hand or after the event. . . . We are probably the only war correspondents of this century who have had to try to report two months of fierce and fluctuating hostilities without getting within hearing distance of gunfire more than two or three times at the most. . . . (*N. Y. Post,* February 5, 1940—following months of pro-Finnish propaganda and big Finnish "victories.")

Walter Kerr, *N. Y. Herald Tribune:* "Old-time newspaper correspondents say the war in Finland is the first war in many years without war correspondents. It probably is. No correspondent, so far as I know, has ever seen the troops in action. . . . He visits a quiet section of the battlefield after the battle or talks to an uncommunicative soldier back from the front. . . ."

But why go on?

Some were honest enough to make these halfhearted confessions, others did not make them, or their confessions were suppressed by the publishers who were party to the campaign of falsehood. The important fact is this: that even today the Finnish myth prevails. You will find perhaps a two inch item saying that Mannerheim

is a Fascist, or that the second in command, General Wallenius, now heads an open Fascist pro-Nazi party in Finland, and that the Fascists rule the country (although there is also a Social-Democratic Party of doubtful activities). The public was fooled by propaganda and by falsehood from the war correspondents, and the small retractions have not overcome the colossal lies.

And so we must conclude that whereas in the Spanish war the democratic side got little hearing, in the Russo-Finnish war there was a total blackout of truth, and that the old 1917-1920 system of treating Russia, as exposed years ago, was again in full operation.

This brings us down to the war which began September, 1939.

Now consider these facts: In 1925 J. P. Morgan & Co. lent Mussolini $100,000,000, and at other times Morgan, Dillon Read, and other international bankers lent Mussolini several hundred million. There was little anti-Fascist propaganda in the American press in all the years between Mussolini's Pullman car descent upon Rome, and the Ethiopian War. The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* did expose and attack Fascism. The big brother of this paper, the *New York World* (both owned by the Pulitzers) at one time actually bought an article exposing Mussolini's manipulations of finances and proving the nation bankrupt, but Walter Lippmann suppressed it after it had been sent out to syndicate papers. It appeared in St. Louis. (I know because I wrote it.)

Remember also that J. P. Morgan issued a terribly angry statement in 1931, when pre-Hitler Germany stopped payment on the Morgan loans to Germany.

Add to these facts the fact that the American press began to tell the truth about Italian Fascism and the German situation only after the Morgan loans had been repudiated in both countries or had slumped beyond hope of profits, and you have a clue to the situation.

It may be said that the coverage of news of the war in 1939 and later was quite fair. But not altogether fair. It was still possible for the press and for those war correspondents who are either mentally unfit or who are clever enough to play their publishers' game, to fake the news from France, for example. Every story blaming the 40-hour work week, or blaming labor, or blaming the Left rather than the Fascists (the Fifth Column aristocracy, the Comité des Forges and the 200 Families), is a fake story. It is the kind of story a crooked-minded reporter would write and a crooked-minded publisher would play up and a crooked-minded Congressman would use in the fight of the vested interests of America against labor, the New Deal, a still better deal, and the general welfare of our people. France was betrayed from on top, and the men who wrote in our newspapers and magazines that the working class was to blame, lied, and lied for a purpose.

And now that the United States is at war? The answer here is the same as the answer to the first European War. The first aim of the censorship—and the last and final and all-inclusive aim of an honest censorship—is to keep news helpful to the enemy suppressed. This news is about 90 per cent technical. I mean to say that it deals with guns, machines, towns, camps, movements, quantities, planes, dispositions, emplacements, shipping, weather, and all that, none of which is of interest to

the average citizen and all of which is of paramount importance to the enemy. Let me give you an example of how stupidity and lack of censorship revealed an important military operation to the Japanese. Sometime in February, 1942, a railroad company boasted it had done a patriotic action by supplying sleeping berths to so many soldiers (the exact number was given) going from blank to blank (the town and seaport were actually named) for embarkation to a foreign place to fight the Japanese. Eventually of course these soldiers will be reported in battle, and then it could be told in detail, but to print this news while the men were under way, was—if done maliciously—an act of treason.

The censorship aims to stop this leak of information. But there are other subjects which come up, such as good and bad morale, acts of heroism and perhaps an act of cowardice, brilliant deeds by officers and perhaps a piece of stupidity. I know we will win this war but I know the President and the military and naval leaders are right when they say that before the tide turns there will be setbacks. Should the censorship tell about them? Should it suppress all bad news until the war is over? It did that in the last great war we were in. It may do so in this war.

I have no doubt that when we begin to have victories and a triumphant end of the war is certain, the same newspapers which recently have been fair to each of the United Nations will bring out the old prejudices and propaganda again, and no doubt editorial writers, military experts, war correspondents and headline writers will cut the news again to fit the bias of the boss. In time of adversity, as of today, it seems to me that the press is being fair and honest. (Exceptions, the *Chicago Tribune,* the *New York Daily News,* many Hearst papers and many Scripps-Howard papers which have sniped at Britain or Russia and proposed fronts which the military say are untenable, and otherwise helped disunity rather than a common effort for victory.) As victory appears imminent I am sure our press will revert to its old line of falsehood, whether it concerns Spain, or China, Britain or Russia. Behind that campaign no doubt there will be the old economic factor which has always ruled the modern newspaper.

5 CAN YOU BELIEVE ATROCITY STORIES?

Everyone agrees that American public opinion against Germany in the European War was created largely by the stories of Hunnish atrocities. These news stories plus the Lusitania sinking helped create not only public opinion for entering the war, but also helped the creation of a national morale.

Shortly after December 13, 1918, the morning we crossed the bridge at Coblentz and occupied Germany, disillusion spread among the American troops, and soon the whole United States was saying that the atrocity stories were false, and that the Germans were blameless.

Up to Pearl Harbor many Americans believed that they had been fooled by

Says F. D. Will 'Speak Out' Soon on Strikes

WASHINGTON, April 3 (INS)—Democratic Leader

Walkouts Delay Defense Orders In 10 Plants

14,000 Out in All Involving Work Worth 40 Millions

By United Press.

Work on defense orders was de- ed at 10 plants today by strikes

N. L. R. B. Move Causes Defense Strike Threat

Effort to Enforce '40 Ban on A. F. L. at Jersey Pl Halts Contract Sessio

Special to the Herald Tribune

COAST SHIPYARDS ON DEFENSE WORK STOPPED BY STRIKE

STRIKE ON DEFENSE STIRS AN OUTBURST ON FLOOR OF HOUSE

N.J. Strike Halts Defense Orders For $1,250,000

STRIKES CONTINUE DEFENSE JOBS HALT

L. Laborers Tie Up Other on $12,000,000 Mun- e Plant at St. Louis

WALKOUT GOES ON

25 DEFENSE PLANTS HALTED BY STRIKES

Air Force Work Is Hampered at

TWO NEW STRIKES RETARD DEFENSE

C. I. O. Men Quit Work Army Trucks at Detroit, A.F. in Walkout at Moline

23 DISPUTES IN THE NATIO

16 STRIKES BLOCK $60,000,000 ORDERS IN DEFENSE PLANTS

$40,000,000 Output Is Halted 5 Weeks at Allis, Where Union Votes Today on Accord

$4,000,000 MOTOR TIE-UP

Dependent Factories Forced to Close—Both C. I. O. and

Strikes Branded Defense Peril

N.A.M. President Calls For Power of Press

Special to the World-Telegram.

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., April 22. —Calling upon "a free press to wake up America to the threat that lies back of national dis- unity," Walter D. Fuller of Phila- delphia, president of the National Assn. of Manufacturers, said today that more man days were lost by strikes in this country in February that all last year in England.

"Enough time has already been in this country through strikes ould 400 ho or 24

3 MONTHS' STRIKES COST 3,022,918 DAYS

Manufacturers' Group Terms Walkouts 'Major Bottleneck In Defense Production'

REPORTS LOSSES TREBLED

'Public Interest' Requires That NLRA Be Amended to Curb Unions, Association Says

N. Y. TIMES APR 23 1941

Condemning strikes in key indus- tries as "a major bottleneck in de- fense production," the National As- sociation of Manufacturers reported t the number of man-

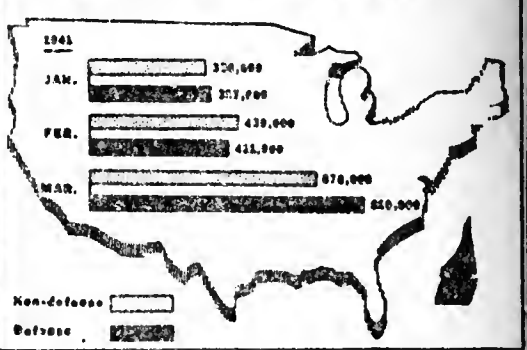
DEFENSE STRIKES

In his sharp criticism yesterday of jurisdictional strikes, and in making it clear at his press conference that he is becoming more convinced of the ne- cessity for establishing some new form of over-all Federal mediation to avert strikes on the defense program, the President incidentally revealed that the strike situation, in his opinion, is more important than the recent minute percentage figure cited by him might

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

A REPORT OF THE EFFECT OF STRIKES ON U.S. INDUSTRY

MAN-DAYS LOST BECAUSE OF STRIKES



National Association of Manufacturers chart showing man days lost in non-defense and defense plants

THE UNION, OR THE UNION, WHICH?

THE UNITED STATES NEWS AUGUST 22, 1941

Strikes Again Disrupt The Defense Program

The National Week

'UNIONISM AS USUAL' VS. DEFENSE

How Strikes Are Preventing Attainment of Full Arms Production

NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM, TUESDAY, MARCH 11, 194

Midland Steel Strike Halts Production Of Defense Material for G. M., Chrysler, Ford

Conciliator Charges Workers Ignored Law by Walking Out

By the United Press.

A strike of 1700 workers at the Midland Steel Products Co., Detroit, halted production today on material used by the three largest automotive companies for defense pur- poses. The Congress of Industrial Organizations' Automobile Workers or

According to a poll of labor editors, 92% of the U. S. press is anti-labor. The percentage may be greater. Being anti-labor means that the newspapers and magazines will not hesitate to lie. All these examples show anti-labor bias, distortion, propaganda and falsehood.

PM, TUESDAY, APRIL 14, 1942 13

Strikes on War Work Never Hit 1 Per Cent

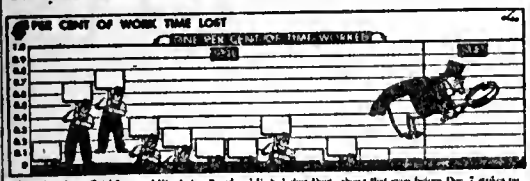


Chart issued on official figures of War Labor Board and U. S. Labor Dept., shows that even before Dec. 7 strikes in war production were never more than eight tenths of 1 per cent of hours worked in any one month. After Pearl Harbor, they virtually disappeared.

8 NATIONAL PM, TUESDAY, APRIL 8, 1941

Miss Perkins Exposes False Alarm Over Strikes

Gibes Figures On Days Lost

Bigger Reports Employers Impede Production, Too

By RICHARD G. HUBLER

Labor Department Lays Most Strikes To Employers' Refusal to Obey Laws

Report Says Unions Struck For Their Rights

STRIKES AT ZERO; NEWSPAPERS' PLAN TO "SMEAR" FLOPS

Publishers Disappointed In Trying to Get Ammunition To Attack Labor

ALL WALKOUTS ARE ENDED

WAR HYSTERIA SEEN AS MENACE TO LABOR

British View Strikes Here Without Alarm; Recall Cooperation of Their Own Industry

Defense Labor Front Is Quiet, But Strike Curbs Still Are Urged

Knudsen, Knox Warn Publishers Against Labor News Distortion

Lesson No. 1 in National Defense

YOU'D THINK, reading newspapers these days, that strikes are incomparably the greatest threat to defense production. But this chart above, showing the average number of work days lost in 1940 by each American worker, reveals that 130 times more man-days were lost through injury and illness alone than through strikes. National defense would be better served by more attention to safety and anti-disease measures than by the current clamor over strikes. The figures are from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the chart by the CIO Economic Division.

WILLIAM P. [illegible] and Frank Kent add 22.

Lubin Blasts Stories That Strikes Hamper Defense

Labor Department Statistician Declares There's No Basis For Claims of Anti-Laborites; Predicts Unemployment End

MINE STRIKE USED TO LOOSE SAVAGE ATTACK ON UNIONS

Tories Making Welkin Ring With Clamor for Laws Shackling All Labor

IGNORE MERITS OF ISSUE

Capitol Filled With Hysteria Against Labor

Administration Is Working Overtime to Keep Restrictive Bills From Reaching Vote

By FRANK BUELICK

Post Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Mar. 28. The [illegible]

43 Defense Plant Strikes Don't Make a Revolution

MINIMIZE EFFECTS OF DEFENSE STRIKES

Management and Labor Views at Philadelphia Session Agree They Are 'Negligible'

Placing The Blame

Who is to blame for the present and recent industrial stoppages? And how can they be ended? The facts are so plain, so simple and so clear-cut that all the hysterical ravings of the anti-labor press and union-baiting politicians cannot conceal nor long confuse them.

Employers Cause Strikes, Says League

WASHINGTON, Apr. 19.—What Causes Strikes?

That question was answered today in a new pamphlet of that name issued by Labor's Non-Partisan League, which found that "employers are responsible for more than 98 per cent of the

THE CIO NEWS

Page 18

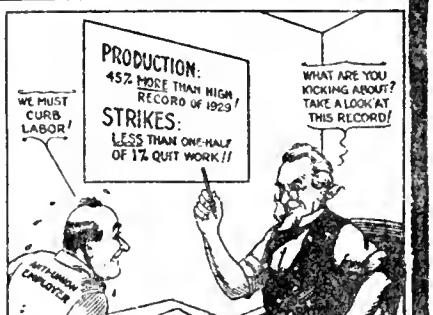
Strikers Seek Share In Bethlehem War Profits

CIO Says 'Company Union's' Call for Employe Election Brought On Walkout

Filzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

LIGHT ON THE SUBJECT

A COMPLETE ANSWER!



THE PROGRESSIVE, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1941

Sitdown By Corporate Wealth 60 Times More Costly Than All Strikes By Organized Labor

Survey Reveals That Industry's Profiteering Is Breaking All Records

THE FRAUDULENT notion that organized labor has delayed and weakened the nation's rearmament effort has been given wide currency by Tory publishers and politicians eager to conceal the shortcomings of big business during the period of emergency. Control of most of the instruments of information—the press, the radio, and the screen—has enabled the labor-baiting clique to obtain wide public acceptance of their unsupported charges.

Unfortunately suppressed, however, is the fact that reliable, profit-hungry employers have caused losses to the rearmament program at least 60 times greater than all losses arising from strikes.

Evidence to support that conclusion was gathered by the generally cautious statistical staff of the American Federation of Labor and included in a report released by the Federation last week.

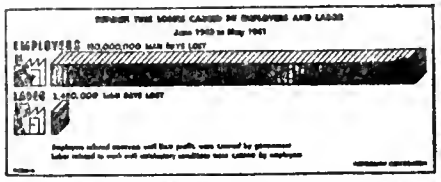
Mistaken by its own unions, the Federation found, caused a total loss since inauguration of the defense program of less than one-tenth of one per cent of time worked on defense production. Strikes by all labor organizations brought delay of less than three-tenths of one per cent, the Federation reported.

In contrast, losses resulting from accidents were 20 times greater and from illness 30 times greater.

But employers took a [illegible] greater toll by "striking" for greater profits, by refusing to expand plant capacity, and by postponing full-blamed of defense orders "to serve their own convenience," the Federation found out.

These "sabotaging" methods, the report showed, resulted in the loss of at least 150,000,000 man-days from the defense program between June 1940, and May, 1941. In the same period, the loss from defense strikes by labor was only 2,400,000 man-days. Both sets of figures are based on "conservative" studies by government officials, the Federation declared.

The chart below tells the graphic story of man-days lost as a result of strikes by employers and by labor:

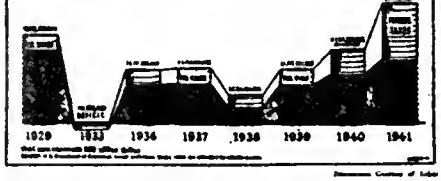


These figures prove, the AFL added, that "many employers have not hesitated to create enormous delays in defense to protect their profits.

"Yet, when we of labor cause a small delay to protect our interests, we are made the scapegoat for all delays, and anti-union forces seek to rob us of the one right which gives us power to deal with management on an equal footing."

The Federation pointed out that the contrast becomes all the more striking when consideration is given to the huge "take" that corporations have obtained from the defense program. Although Progressives like Sen. Robert M. La Follette, Jr., have fought for two years for adequate excess profits taxation, the nation continues to operate with tax legislation which doesn't begin to provide an effective brake against large-scale profiteering.

The chart below, based on official studies, tells the picture story of profits and taxes for all corporations:



Courtesy of Labor

The chart shows earnings of American industrial corporations this year will reach nearly $12,000,000,000, considerably higher than the boom year of 1929. Even after deduction of sharply increased taxes, the clear profits still will be almost as much as in 1929 and substantially above 1940.

The Federation pointed out that at least 150 of the corporations this year "will earn more profits than in the best years of the late 1920's, or in any time since."

Considering on the 1941 tax measure, Sen. La Follette said:

"The pending tax structure is inequitable. It violates the principle of ability to pay. The pending tax bill, if enacted into law (and it may), will impose even greater burdens upon the great masses of the people who have the least ability to pay.

"Taxes which mean a reduction of an already unconscionable low standard of living are being levied while fat profits from defense spending are got off with only a relatively minor share of the total burden."

Sen. La Follette's prophecy regarding the 1941 tax measure has been fully realized, as recent Federal Reserve Board studies revealed. While the nation's workers, with longer hours, averaged only 25 per cent more in weekly earnings (before taxes) during the first nine months of this year, profits (before taxes) climbed nearly 200 per cent.

Several months ago—and nothing has occurred since to alter the situation—the Treasury Department itself denounced the inequity of the existing tax legislation. Stripped to its words, the Treasury declared that "many corporations that are principal beneficiaries of the defense effort and that hold large governmental contracts are paying little or no excess profits tax."

A few papers tell the truth, but they reach only a small percentage of America's readers. Liberal weeklies tell the truth, the labor press tells the truth. Here are examples of honest reporting. Are there a total of 6 big city dailies in America which are fair and honest in handling labor news? We know only four.

atrocity propaganda in 1914, and had been set right by the propaganda of German innocence from 1918 up to recently.

The truth about this matter is important. It has a bearing on the German campaign in Holland, France, Greece and Russia, and the evidence comes not only from these countries, but also from Spain in 1937, and from the supreme court trials in Leipzig at which I was present.

It had been announced that the victorious Allies were going to punish the guilty. They would hang the Kaiser, to begin with. They would try 886 leading diplomats and military men of Germany, the so-called "war criminals." No mention was made of the Krupps and other merchants of death and the corporations profiting from German imperialism. But when the trials began the list had shrunk to 45 cases of minor officers and soldiers, and only eight were brought to trial. And yet, in those few cases, we got the uncontrovertible evidence from German sources that the Germans had committed horrible atrocities in the European War, 1914 to 1918.

For example, the sinking of the Llandovery Castle. In June, 1918, the commanders of the U-86, Lieutenant Boldt and Lieutenant Dithmar, sank this British hospital ship off the coast of Ireland. They were accused of murdering its doctors, nurses and wounded.

Second Officer Thapman of the Llandovery Castle testified that after the ship was torpedoed everyone took to lifeboats but Lieutenants Boldt and Dithmar gave orders to kill the survivors. Fourteen 3-inch shells were fired against the Thapman lifeboat. When German sailors tried to rescue American and British doctors and nurses struggling in the water, Lieutenants Boldt and Dithmar drew their revolvers and shot their own men for this act of humanity. The U-86 rammed five of the six lifeboats in a maneuver of narrowing circles and came within twenty-four inches of Thapman's lifeboat, which it believed it had also sunk. The U-86 departed in the belief it had exterminated every trace of its atrocity, and the entire personnel took an oath never to mention the episode.

A German sailor testified: "Unmindful of the cries of the wounded and the appeal for mercy from the women, the officers ordered us to fire shells into the lifeboats until all human beings were dead. We did not want to do this dirty work for our officers. Dithmar and Patzig had a dramatic interview which amounted to mutiny but Patzig dominated."

Patzig was captain. Blame was then shifted on him. He was in hiding in Danzig. In his favor it was testified that "he did the Fatherland a great service by torpedoing the American transport *Cincinnati.*"

Another important case was that of the soldier Karl Heinen who admitted beating prisoners in a camp but excused himself on the ground he was carrying out orders from superiors. Whereupon General Fransecky arose and said: "The accused was too kind. He should have fired on the prisoners." The British prisoners who had been flogged were charged with "collective disobedience."

The only ranking officer on trial was Major General Karl Stenger, commander of the 18th Baden Infantry Brigade. Major Benno Crusius of his staff was also charged with the same atrocity: murdering wounded prisoners.

On the eve of the battle of August 26, 1914, General Stenger, it was testified, had

issued the order: "In the coming battle, remember, there is to be no mercy shown, no prisoners will be taken, no wounded are to be left alive on the field."

On the afternoon of the battle Stenger, Crusius, Major Mueller and a sergeant, all of staff, made an inspection of the battlefield. Major Mueller took a kick at a seemingly dead Frenchman. The Frenchman opened his eyes. "Shoot him," ordered Mueller, and the sergeant shot the wounded Frenchman.

Soon the party came upon a scene later made memorable in many movies. A German soldier was handing a tin cup full of coffee to a wounded Frenchman. Stenger and his staff flew into a rage. "Have the man killed immediately," ordered Mueller. The Frenchman understood, he was on his knees, he clutched Major Crusius' feet, praying and weeping, but the Germans insisted on murder and stayed to see it done.

"It was in accordance with orders from General Stenger," said Major Crusius at this point of the testimony. He did not deny the atrocities. Crusius, who now suffered from nightmares of remorse, and screamed to God for mercy in his sleep (testimony of medical officer), pleaded it was orders. Military duty.

In defense it was testified that murder of prisoners and wounded was a German tradition. In the Boxer Rebellion the All-Highest, the Kaiser himself, had issued this historical order: "Quarter will not be given; prisoners will not be made." In the Baden Brigade the 1914 order had read: "From today on no more prisoners will be taken. Wounded will be dispatched." (Testimony of company sergeant Karl Kleinhaus.)

Three German soldiers then testified to this horrible scene: a sergeant went by with three French prisoners. General Stenger ordered the sergeant to kill them. He refused. The general then ordered the prisoners taken behind a barn where they were murdered. Major Crusius himself killed a wounded Frenchman lying beside the road. The same scene was repeated in many parts of the battlefield.

For these proven cases of German atrocities the German supreme court sitting in Leipzig handed out punishments of a year or two. It used the subterfuge that Danzig was under control of the League of Nations to make no attempt to arrest Patzig. It accepted the excuses of soldiers that they were carrying out orders of superiors and let the superiors, including General Stenger, off scot free. Dithmar and Boldt got four years in prison each, Dithmar was cashiered from the navy and Boldt told he could not wear his uniform. Dithmar and Boldt were helped to escape from prison almost immediately by members of the illegal military organizations. All these men including Lowell Thomas' friend Captain Luckner participated in the earliest activities of the National Workers Socialist Party which today is known by its abbreviation: NAZI.

The Nazi ally, Mussolini's Italy, and the Nazi ally Japan, were the first to violate the international agreements against the use of gas as a weapon of war. In 1935 the Fascists, unable to conquer the Ethiopians although they overwhelmed them with guns, airplanes and tanks, resorted to gas attacks in which 200,000 casualties were reported and such consternation caused among the native troops that the capture of Addis Ababa was made possible.

The Japanese have also used gas against the Chinese every time they were in

danger of losing a battle. At the first battle of Changsha in 1939 they were trapped, and in their haste to retreat (reported war correspondent James R. Young) they used gas and then buried the cylinders for fear of discovery. But foreign military attachés and journalists were present when the Chinese dug up the evidence.

In the Spanish War the Germans, who were using it as a school for the present war, wanted to know if it was possible for the air service to destroy a town completely and every inhabitant thereof. They chose the ancient and holy city of Guernica where they smashed every house and killed or wounded every inhabitant. This attack on a non-military objective was witnessed by several British journalists including Steer of the *London Times* and Monks of the *Express*.

Catholic propagandists, including Father Talbot, tried to deny the atrocity, but Monks, himself a Catholic, joined Steer in maintaining the facts even after American newspapers, frightened by pressure of Catholic organizations, printed retractions. However, the Germans later wanted to know the effects of bombing on a big city, and they smashed several carefully selected blocks in Barcelona and caused 28,000 casualties, thereby proving that with air superiority it is quite possible to destroy London or New York completely and kill or wound every citizen. This atrocity, it will be noted, was protested by the Pope in a note to Franco, who did not reply, inasmuch as the enterprise was entirely Nazi, and in this case the Catholic propagandists in America kept quiet and there were no denials.

As has been said, there were no atrocities on the Loyalist side (after the July, 1936 chaos had been ended) but the Franco atrocities continued. The Nazis were to blame in Guernica and Barcelona, but the Spanish Fascists were to blame for the murder of thousands of civilians in towns they captured. The policy of terrorism by atrocities was accomplished by Franco after plans were prepared by his German allies.

On July 28, 1936, the Loyalists captured the Franco officer Manuel Carracha on the Guadalajara front. He had in his pocket a circular order given to all officers in which terrorism as a means of destroying morale of the enemy is ordered. Here is a translation of the important paragraphs:

> To make sure of victory one of the most important requirements is to shatter the morale of the enemy. The enemy has not enough troops nor enough weapons to prolong his resistance; nevertheless the following instructions must be followed strictly:
>
> First: to make the hinterland safe, it is absolutely necessary to inflict a certain healthy terror upon the civil population. When troops occupy a town, all persons in office must be brought to respect them, and when officials have fled, action must be taken against their families. . . .
>
> Fourth: Every town is to be considered as in the war zone. There must be no difference between towns occupied by the enemy and those unoccupied. The panic of the civilian population behind the enemy line is the greatest factor in demoralizing the enemy.
>
> We learned from the last World War that the damaging of enemy hospitals and destruction of transports with wounded had a strong demoralizing effect on enemy troops.
>
> Fifth: Following the occupation of Madrid, the officers will order troops to

Do People Believe What the Papers Say?

Fortune Takes a Poll and Gets a 'Most Painful Set of Answers'

THE late Marlen Pew once complained in his Editor & Publisher column that people seemed to be losing faith in the press. That was in 1934 or thereabouts, but how much longer ago it seems! A lot of starch has been taken out of the press since old Marlen uttered that prophetic comment. The American people gave it a stinging rebuke in the 1936 national elections. They have gone sour on the Hearst papers and the Hearst empire seems to be tottering. By their cynicism toward advertising in newspapers they have caused serious alarm among advertising managers. How far the people's loss of faith has gone is now grimly detailed in the August issue of Fortune.

Fortune publishes a poll of the population, made for Time, Inc., by Elmo Roper, on its attitude toward the press. In general, the survey shows that most people believe the newspapers are unfair and prejudiced. Most of them are more likely to believe what they hear on the radio than what they read in the newspapers. There was

Here are some of the other questions:

From which one source do you get most of your news about what is going on?

	Total	Prosperous	Upper Middle Class	Lower Middle Class	Poor	Negro
Newspapers	63.8%	70.7%	70%	63.6%	58.1%	51.6%
Radio	25.4	17.8	21	26.8	31.3	23.3
Friends	3.4	1.1	1.2	2.5	4.8	12.2
Both	3.1	4.0	3.5	3.1	2.7	1.4
Magazines	2.3	4.5	2.7	1.9	1.3	3.1
All other	1.3	1.2	1.1	1.5	1.0	1.5
Don't know	.7	.7	.5	.6	.8	1.9

In other words, the poorer people are, the more likely they are to rely on radio rather than newspapers for news. Is it because because they believe they do not get a fair break in the press?

More astounding is the answer to the question:

If you heard conflicting versions of the same story from these sources, which would you be most likely to believe?

A radio press bulletin	22.7%	40.3%
A radio commentator	17.6	
An authority you heard speak		13
An editorial in a newspaper	12.4%	26.9
A news item in a newspaper	11.1	
A columnist in a newspaper	3.4	
Depends on paper, writer, speaker		11.6
Don't know		8.2

Says Fortune: "There, perhaps, is the most painful set of answers that the press must swallow from its public." Further light on the public's attitude toward the reliability of the press is

The way the commercial publishers see it, 66.2% of the American people think the press is fair. But the news is that 26.5%—about 30,000,000 Americans—think the press is unfair. We know of no intelligent person who believes the majority of our papers are fair, honest, unbiased, decent and free.

People Don't Trust the Press *NR Aug 9.39*

Newspaper publishers have every reason to be disturbed over a poll printed in the current issue of Fortune. The magazine made a wide inquiry as to the extent to which the public trusts the press, with some results that must be painful reading for newspapermen. For example, two-thirds of those questioned believed that the newspaper would color the news to help a friendly politician or a friend of the publisher. Sixty percent thought this would be done for a big advertiser and 50 percent for business in general. Two-thirds of those consulted get their news from the press, yet of these, one-third believed that radio news broadcasts are more accurate and two-thirds, that they are more just. If they heard conflicting versions of the same story from various sources, 22 percent would accept that of a radio press bulletin, 17 percent a radio commentator, 13 percent an authority making a speech, 12 percent a newspaper editorial, 11 percent a newspaper item and only 3 percent a newspaper columnist. On detail, such an inquiry need not be taken too seriously; but its general drift is of great importance. There is no doubt at all that the American people as a whole do not trust the press.

NEW REPUBLIC

EDITOR & PUBLISHER

U. S. Press Presents News Fairly, Fortune Survey of Public Shows

TWO-THIRDS of the American public believes the daily press presents the news fairly, according to the *Fortune* Quarterly Survey published in the magazine's October issue. Freedom of the press also has the support of a majority of the nation, rich and poor, the survey indicates. Fortune's questions and answers were as follows:

Is the press fair?

	Total	Prosperous	Poor	Northeast	Mountain States
Yes	66.2%	73.5%	62.6%	71.9%	49.7%
No	26.5	24.1	27.8	24.1	45.0
Don't know	7.3	2.4	9.6	4.0	5.3

Do you think newspapers should be allowed to print anything they choose, except libelous matter?

	Total	Men	Women	Prosperous	Poor
Yes	54.8%	60.7%	48.8%	61.9%	50.8%
No	39.1	34.1	44.3	36.6	41.5
Don't know	6.1	5.2	6.9	1.5	7.7

(If no) Which kind of material should be less featured?

	Total	Men	Women
Sex	13.8%	12.5%	14.8%
Crime	28.8	26.8	30.3
Personal scandal	20.0	19.9	20.1
Misleading statements	14.8	17.1	13.0
Articles attacking the President and other public men	4.9	5.1	4.8
Articles causing dissatisfaction with the present order	5.8	5.9	5.8
Foreign news likely to make the public want to get mixed up in a war	10.6	11.5	9.9
Other	1.3	1.2	1.3

> occupy all roofs of taller buildings and church towers. In them machine-guns will be installed dominating the city. In case of unrest among civilians, shooting will begin without any discussions. Owing to the presence of large numbers of women soldiers on the enemy side, no distinction regarding sex will be made. The more ruthless our measures the quicker can the movements of the civilian population be suppressed, the sooner can the rebirth of Spain be announced.

As evidence of the undeniable fact that Fascists use terrorism and atrocities as a method of war, we have the eyewitness accounts of correspondents on the Fascist side, some of whom are devout Catholics. Here are some samples:

Diario de Lisboa, August 20, 1936, Arturo Portella, Fascist, Catholic journalist, reported the number of executions of civilians by Franco had reached 4,000 at Badajos; he writes in triumphant tone of the mass raids on workers' quarters where every man and boy is stripped to the waist to see if he has a blue mark on his shoulder from firing a rifle. Those having blue marks are murdered.

L'Intransigeant, Paris, August 27, 1936, from Emanuel Bourcier, pro-Fascist, Catholic, staff correspondent: "The Foreign Legion (Tercio) has killed all in Badajos. There was no mercy for anyone. A massacre, a butchery, for which there is no suitable words of description. . . ."

Essener National-Zeitung, Essen, Germany, October 10, 1936: "Late cleaning-up of the middle and hinterland is no longer the task of fighting troops, but that of the armed bands, the second line, which occupies the buildings and makes them safe. . . . Stop, get out, take position, make ready to fire, attack, liquidate the prisoners, get in, journey further—that is the sign of modern warfare, the general picture of a battle. . . ."

Der Angriff, Berlin, September 9, 1936: "Fortunately the Nationalists (Franco Fascists) have now lost the old sentimentality, and every soldier recognizes that an end through terrorism is better than terrorism without an end."

New York Journal and American, November 8, 1937, from Karl von Wiegand, correspondent with Franco: "While Brigadier-General P. C. Groves of the British Army writes how proper and lenient Franco's courts-martial are, Major Rayneau, British aviator, member of Franco's Air Force, writes in *Popular Flying,* 'We took 1,900 prisoners at Toledo and we shot them all.' "

La Libre Belgique, organ of Belgian Catholic Party, from its correspondent with Franco, André Hoornaert (reprinted in *New York Post* at the time): "I have always believed that truth must be served, that one must be impartial above all things, to friend and foe alike. . . . It would be unfortunate if history could say, in years to come, that all Catholics were silent. Believe me, I write these lines with pain and horror. . . . I am forced to write, with all the dreadful meanings that these words imply: there are no prisoners' camps in Nationalist Spain." (M. Hoornaert then describes the runaround he got when he asked leave to visit camps the Franco propaganda department said existed. He found a few labor camps for suspects whom Franco hoped to convert, and a few buildings filled with men who were "to be sent forcibly to the front," but "there are no prisoners of war as we generally understand the term. Any Loyalist who is found with a weapon in his hand is shot outright. . . .

A few are tried. . . . It makes no difference in the end, since the list of those condemned to death is often in the hands of the court before the gates are opened.")

Hearst papers, May 10, 1937, from H. R. Knickerbocker, correspondent with Franco. Statement from Major Sanchez, high Franco officer, in interview: "It is a race war, not merely a class war. . . . All you democrats are just handmaidens of Bolshevism. Hitler is the only one who knows a Red when he sees one." (Sanchez was furious that Generalissimo Franco in November issued an order to shoot only selected prisoners of war and not all, as before. The Major declared this order would lose the war.) "Take 'em out and shoot 'em. . . ."

"We must restore the authority of the Church. Slaves need it to teach them to behave.

"We are going to shoot 50,000 in Madrid. And no matter where Azana and Largo Caballero and all that crowd try to escape, we'll catch them and kill every last man if it takes years. If Franco wins he will strive to weld his divers followers into a military-clerical Fascist state."

If the impartial reader will recognize the fact the foregoing statements, all of them confessing horrible atrocities, come from Catholics and either friends of Franco or at least pro-Franco journalists, and contrast it with the fact that not a line of similar evidence exists charging atrocities to the Loyalists, he will realize that during the war the press deceived him with an unending flood of falsehood. Here is just one example. The *New York World-Telegram* (Scripps-Howard), April 2, 1938, quotes a publisher named Russell Palmer saying: "I could work up a lot of stories for you about Spain, but nobody would print them. The American newspapers have been won over by Loyalist propaganda. They won't print the truth." Mr. Palmer then says that the Loyalists as well as the Fascists bomb civilians. This was a lie. One of the first orders issued by General Ignacio Hidalgo de Cisneros, commander of Loyalist aviation, was never to bomb civilians. American, French and other members of this aviation are witnesses. And even if no order had been issued it is a fact the Loyalists had no planes to speak of, never more than fifty at one time and almost all without exception fighters which tried to stop Franco bombers. Nevertheless, this publisher Palmer plus the Jesuit weekly *America* (April 3, 1937) plus the Hearst newspapers and many others not only published atrocity stories against the Loyalists but claimed the press which did not do so was "won over" to that side.

The long and horrible record of atrocities and atrocity propaganda via the press could (unfortunately) be continued indefinitely. We would then never get to the present war. In this war there has been a Niagara of atrocity stories. The Germans, who had kept the war correspondents cooling in Berlin, actually permitted a propaganda trip to the front for the purpose of showing America that the Poles had killed German civilians in Bromberg. On the other hand, there is no doubt about the Germans killing 30,000 when they destroyed the heart of Rotterdam. (Incidentally it is such an action as the German air raid on Rotterdam, like the Fascist air raid on Barcelona, which gives the conclusive if negative proof that there could have been no raid on *civilians* in Helsinki, since there was no big list of casualties; when bombs are really aimed at civilians the casualty list is high.)

The Germans later showed pictures ofcivilians walking among rows of corpses in

the town of Lwow and blamed the Russians for an atrocity. Some time later Moscow reported that the Germans had not only killed Russian civilians in Lwow but had utilized their own atrocity to make propaganda for themselves by blaming Russia.

What, then, are we to believe about atrocities in the present war?

We can believe the motion pictures and photographs captured on German officers showing the hanging of Russian civilians in captured places. We can believe the eyewitness accounts in which names and places and dates are mentioned.

But that is not the way to judge the situation. From the historic record, from the confessions in the Leipzig trials, from the evidence of guilt of German Junker officers produced in their own courts, we know that these people committed atrocities because they have brutal minds and are part of a brutal machine.

From the testimony of Catholics and Fascist journalists with Franco we have evidence that terrorism and brutality and mass murders were part of the system which the Germans, Italians and Francoists installed throughout Spain as they marched toward Madrid.

The evidence is absolutely conclusive that although there were minor acts of violence in the French, Belgian, British and even American armies, they were individual acts, and that no army or unit of the democratic side could be charged with atrocities.

Fascism is nothing new. Mussolini defines Fascism as Reaction. Reaction, through all the ages of men, has been dragging the world backward—back to the Dark Ages, back to uncivilized times, back to barbarism, and back to death.

On the Fascist side today are several nations which differ in the degree of their Fascism or reaction. On the United Nations side are nations which differ in the degree of their democracy. But—and I would like to write this as if I were a man from Mars newly landed on this planet and still objective—I believe it can be held as a truth that Fascism embodies in its ideology terrorism and murder, whereas on the side of the democracies (which may of course be guilty of exploiting colonial peoples which they keep in subjection) there is enough humanity among all the common people (even if there is not sufficient humanity among the ruling class) to exclude terrorism and murder from national policy.

Not everything that I have written in my eleven books has stood the test of time and history, but I am certain that my charge that the Fascist nations commit atrocities in this war, and that the anti-Fascist nations do not, will remain a statement of proven fact.

6 HOW TO READ THE EDITORIAL PAGE

Don't.

7 CAN YOU TRUST THE RADIO?

In addition to the press there are other means for forming public opinion, other avenues of communication, chief of which are radio, the movies, the platform, the theater, and the pulpit, but since the movies usually refuse to discuss serious matters intelligently and the theater no longer reaches a vast audience, and platform and pulpit also fail to sway a large part of the American people, it is the radio which remains the second most powerful force.

For the first time in its history, a powerful rival has challenged the monopoly of the newspaper press in the making of that public opinion which all leaders admit still rules this country.

The press, we have shown, is owned, controlled, subsidized and directed by special interests. The radio chains are few and the number of stations strictly limited. National Broadcasting Company's Blue and Red networks, Columbia and Mutual just about own the radio, but despite the fact that the same sort of banks, manufacturers, advertisers, public utilities, and the same 250 families are financially interested in radio, the control is elsewhere.

The control is in the hands of the Federal Communications Commission. The air belongs to the American people, and the F.C.C., so long as it remains uncorrupted by Republican or Democratic party politicians, is directed to keep the air free and democratic, and in a small way at least, is the servant of the people and the spokesman for its general welfare.

In 1936 it was commonly assumed that the power of the radio had become greater than the power of the press, that radio had defeated the newspapers which had united with tory leaders to defeat the New Deal. The statistics have been questioned: some prove that only 80 percent of the newspapers were against Roosevelt, others say 85 percent; some count the Southern states, others eliminate them, also Vermont and Maine among granite and everlasting Northern states, but whatever the percentage there is no doubt that the newspapers joined with the National Association of Manufacturers overwhelmingly to fight Roosevelt, and that Roosevelt and his party used the radio, when press support failed, and carried the field.

In some instances the radio chains were forced by the F.C.C. to sell time to labor unions and to minor political parties, which could never hope for a square deal in the press, and which receive almost no notice from presidential campaign to presidential campaign—except when it is possible to print a story slandering or belittling them.

Concluding a pamphlet study of the American press after the 1936 campaign the *New Republic* took up the main questions which suggested themselves: "Is the press getting better or worse?" It asked, and answered "worse," with qualifications of course. The press is no longer the mouthpiece of public opinion because the public voted angrily and decisively against press propaganda; the press is no longer a personal organ of a publisher of character; the press has become part of Big Business or

a syndicate allied with Big Business. The press is getting worse, is the conclusion, "in so far as it represents the attitudes and aspirations of those who have become the voice of Big Business: or, if you like, capitalism. It is getting better in that the quality of the syndicated material is improving"; in the "healthy development" of the Newspaper Guild.

One of the few newspapers which supported Mr. Roosevelt and the New Deal (in a half-hearted carping professionally Democratic Party way to be sure) was the *New York Times.* Said its owner and publisher, Arthur Hays Sulzberger: "The *New York Times* this year (1936) has unquestionably lost a large amount of advertising—and we wish we had it—because of its support of President Roosevelt during the campaign. We were accused of being traitors and Communists. Some advertisers were frank enough to tell us that they would not spend a dollar with a newspaper which represented such subversive interests. Such pressure applied before election can legitimately be classified as an effort to influence our opinion."

In 1940 the Willkie press support (outside the Solid South) was estimated to be 10 percent higher than the Landon support four years earlier: some 85 to 95 percent of the newspapers which are supposed to direct the minds of voters told them to vote Willkie, and again Roosevelt won.

In 1937 the owner-publisher of the *New York Times* invited me to dinner and explained that he was a liberal and wanted to do the right thing in publishing the news from Spain. He believed that by printing stuff such as Carney's story telling Franco where the anti-aircraft guns were placed and Matthews' factual stories from Madrid, he was being neutral and objective. He also complained of the difficulties of being a liberal, a New Dealer. Mr. Pew, the owner of Sunoco, for example, had cancelled a series of advertisements worth some $10,000 because the *Times* had supported Roosevelt rather than the anti-New Deal candidate.

In 1940 the *Times* went Republican, anti-New Deal.

Another 1936 boast was made by Raymond Clapper, columnist for the Scripps-Howard chain. "For the benefit of politicians who think that an advertiser, equipped with horns and pitchfork, sits as censor in every newspaper office," he wrote, "I can cite the fact that the Scripps-Howard newspapers, with which I am associated, supported President Roosevelt for re-election in 1936 when most of the business men who advertise in newspapers opposed him." Well, four years later the Scripps-Howard nineteen papers in eighteen big cities joined with the business men and turned against Roosevelt, the horns and the pitchfork of the advertising devil and censor were plain to be seen, and Mr. Raymond Clapper, the well-paid columnist, kept his mouth shut.

Thanks to the radio the Democratic Party and its chief, Roosevelt, entered as many homes as the newspapers did, and counteracted the propaganda against them. Certainly for a rich party, able to buy radio time on the same scale as its rival, the monopoly of press control of public opinion has been broken and the radio has proven its value.

However, if you belong to a minor party, or if you belong to a new group which wishes to gain converts to a new idea, say Ham-and-Eggs, or the Single Tax, or perhaps a public ownership of public utilities party or the cooperatives, or say a con-

sumers movement which would distinguish between crooked advertising and honest advertising, then your chances of getting time on the air are no better than of getting space in the papers. If you favor something fundamental, such as a Marxian political system, or great social changes, or production for use and not for the private profits of the 250 families, then you have almost no chance at all, and the four networks will refuse to sell you time even if you can get the money to buy it.

The only way to get on the air is to catch the anti-liberal, anti-labor, pro-monopoly, pro-status quo spokesmen lying or faking, then you protest to the Federal Communications Commission, and demand equal time to counteract the poison, to nail the lie. The labor unions, especially the C.I.O., have done this several times with great success, and even Consumers Union was given thirteen minutes by Columbia Broadcasting System to state the consumers' viewpoint on silly, useless and harmful advertising, some of which came via the same C.B.S. Only, no names were permitted to be named.

As regards many of the larger subjects which I have chosen for illustrations, the radio has been little better than the press. The anti-Mexican voices have been given freedom of the air waves, the pro-Mexicans have had little time. In the Spanish War a deserter from the Lincoln Battalion of the International Brigade (an army of some 20,000 men whose bravery, courage and devotion to an ideal can be compared only to Valley Forge and MacArthur's stand at Bataan Peninsula) was interviewed on several programs and lionized. American Fascists such as Palmer and Sedgwick were able to spread pro-Franco poison, and the Coughlinites of Detroit and Brooklyn used several stations for a great outpouring of atrocity stories and other lies which were protested by many who demanded equal time for reply, but who never received it.

Small stations kept on giving Fascist Italian news and Fascist propaganda in all the big cities up to the morning of Pearl Harbor, and when anti-Fascist Italians protested they could not drive the poisoners off the air. German Bundists had air time and Martin Dies, friend of Bundist Kuhn, did nothing. In fact, up to the morning of Pearl Harbor the enemies of America had considerable use of the American air on paid programs for spaghetti, wine, Nazi steamship tickets; the larger aspects of Fascism were aired by Congressman Dies, Clare Hoffman, and other proto-Fascists, just as they are being aired today.

When the German, French and British war began in September, 1939, the radio broadcasters issued a statement of neutrality, impartiality and objectivity.

So strictly was this ruling enforced that on the 19th of that month when I was in Chicago doing a broadcast on propaganda, National Broadcasting officials suggested that I do not name the soldiers who came over to the American Army to surrender in 1918 as German soldiers.

On November 30 over WABC and for Amoco Gasoline, Edwin C. Hill made a blood-and-tears plea for the world to take Finland's side against Russia. The plea would have sounded better if the same radio commentator had spoken with a little of the same feeling, or with any feeling whatever, or had just spoken, about the Barcelona bombings when 28,000 civilians were killed and wounded by Franco and his Fascist aviators. But Mr. Hill at that time had been "neutral"—with Franco leanings—and now he went emotionally berserk. The reason is obvious: Franco is a

Catholic reactionary and Hill has spoken more Catholic propaganda over the radio than anyone not an overt Catholic propagandist. It is true that the 28,000 dead and wounded in Barcelona were also Catholics, but they had been labeled "reds" by the reactionary wing of Catholicism.

On December 21, Mr. Hill nonchalantly accused Stalin of causing 10,000,000 deaths. He also repeated the newspaper lie that "Russian airmen celebrated Stalin's birthday by raiding Helsinki and bombing four hospitals." In between these two days and following the 21st, Mr. Hill included propaganda against Soviet Russia in his nightly talks. In other words, he violated the code of ethics of the broadcasting fraternity. He has also violated human ethics, but that is another matter.

On the 21st, WJZ's 4:55 P. M. broadcast over the National Broadcasting Company network had "Russian air raid on Helsinki seemed to be aimed at hospitals, institutions for the blind, and fleeing refugees," and at 6:15 the same words were repeated over WEAF and credited to the Associated Press.

On the night of December 4 over WABC Elmer Davis grew ironical over the Soviet report that no civilians had been bombed. "So the eighty dead in Helsinki committed suicide with the air bombs they found," he said. Lowell Thomas joined in the sneering. He referred to "the Russian *humanitarian* aviators" killing a hundred persons in Helsinki. And on December 29 he said: "The news from Finland continues optimistic. Every day more hundreds of Russians are being killed." (I report by ear but I believe correctly.)

Here is another instance showing how the public is fooled by radio. An Associated Press news report (WJZ, 4:55 P.M., February 5, 1940) concluded with the words "if the report is true." At exactly 5 P.M. the same report word for word was given over WMCA ("A Reporter Speaks") without the last phrase. The "report" had the Russian 18th Division annihilated. If it was true, then the story by Harold Denny in the *New York Times* several days earlier was a falsehood—unless it is possible in modern war to "annihilate" the same division twice in a week. Note also that the A.P. qualification ("If the report is true") was the first of a series of qualifications of similar nature which followed my exposure of radio news lies on the Finnish War (published January 23.)

"All is not well in the Kremlin," reported New York City's municipal station (WNYC, 8 A.M., January 13, 1940) although it was a fact that no news of such nature came from the Kremlin, nor could it possibly come owing to censorship. The news broadcast spoke of "friction in the Red Army," mentioned Copenhagen and Stockholm uncensored reports, and suggested that "it may be that executions have taken place." At the conclusion it was announced this was a *Christian Science Monitor* bureau commentary by James Beech. Dope, propaganda, speculation and bias, this report came from a radio station which had had a reputation for objective reporting, and was given by a newspaper which is always classed among the three lonely representatives of a fair press in America.

Mr. Wythe Williams is one of my oldest friends and colleagues. In 1917 Williams risked his life publishing the true story of how French politicians endangered the French army and were responsible for heavy and tragic losses through interfering with Marshal Foch. He might have been shot for telling the useful truth if America

had not intervened. For years Williams wrote the better grade of foreign news stories, but from the time he went on the radio he went haywire. For example (WOR, 8 p.m., June 13, 1940) his "inside story" of why the Germans broke the Maginot Line is this: the Popular Front in France, he claimed, had years earlier sent minute plans of its fortifications to the Kremlin. Then, "in dire distress" before the Mannerheim Line in Finland the Soviets had to call in German generals to help them fight, and Hitler in return for winning the war against Finland asked that Stalin turn over the plans of the Maginot Line to him, which Stalin did!

The only trouble with this story is that it is a falsehood. The Popular Front did not turn over the plans of the Maginot Line to Stalin. The Russians did not ask Germany for help, and no German generals came to Russia to break the Mannerheim Line. The Germans did not pierce the Maginot Line, but went through at its end in Sedan and around it. The story also slanders the Popular Front in France, the coalition of pro-democratic parties headed by Leon Blum which was too weak to aid Spain in 1936 and which collapsed long before the Russians were at the Mannerheim Line.

There are thousands of examples to prove that in 1939, 1940 and 1941 the news broadcasters and the commentators and military experts of America with few exceptions violated the code of ethics of their profession and the rulings of the Federal Communications Commission and filled the American airwaves with anti-Russian stuff and propaganda in just the same manner and with the same unanimity as the newspapers. The fact that the press has no policeman and can lie without restraint and the fact that the FCC polices the radio with the intention of preventing not only falsehood but unfairness, made absolutely no difference on such a subject as Russia. I do not know if anyone protested but it is evident that if protests were made they did not count. Hill, Thomas, sometimes Kaltenborn, always Williams, someone named Bercovici, occasionally Elmer Davis, almost always Gabriel Heatter, and almost all other newscasters and commentators (with the exception of Johannes Steel, Raymond Gram Swing and Quincy Howe) joined in attacking and smearing the Russians and upholding the Finns. They took sides. They spread propaganda. They violated the ethics of radio broadcasting.

I mentioned this situation at the time to one of the best known commentators in New York. He replied:

> The rules (*i.e.*, the broadcasting code of ethics of September, 1939) are off as regards Russia. We can go as far as we like. There is no limit. Say anything you like. Lie, if you wish, no one will stop you. It is true that there is still some attempt at neutrality in the war between Germany and France and Britain; no one can go violent against one side or the other, but that does not apply to Russia. There has been no written or even oral instruction but we have simply discovered that the lid is off, and it is the popular thing to do, and we can go haywire about Russia without any one checking us.

It was obvious that despite the policing of the FCC and despite the right of protest by listeners, there was no difference between radio and press when it came to falsifying history about Russia.

Generally speaking, also, the radio has been almost as dishonest as the press regarding the majority of the people—labor.

Press, radio and movies controlled by Henry R. Luce (sometimes referred to by his anti-Fascist employees as Il Luce) are generally anti-liberal, frequently pro-Fascist (as the July, 1934, *Fortune* magazine devoted almost entirely to hailing the Duce) and usually anti-labor. *Time, Life,* and *Fortune* are printed by the non-union and anti-union Donnelley Lakeside Press of Chicago, and although the typographical unions have conducted a boycott of these publications for years, they continue to make millions, circulate millions, and betray the interests of millions.

The March of Time both on the air and in the movies has consistently attacked labor unions and smeared labor as a whole.

In 1936 M.O.T. showed its sympathy for the Croix de Feu, the French combination of an American Legion and Hitler's SS Elite Guard. When this pro-Fascist movie was released it was publicly charged that:

1. *Time's* board of directors had numerous Morgan connections, was part of the same business set-up, which includes the Morgan-Harjes firm of Paris, which was linked to the Croix de Feu.

2. The Croix de Feu film, praising Fascism, was made by a brother of Louis de Rochemont, vice-president in charge of M.O.T. production.

3. That the concluding part of the same M.O.T., dealing with the bootlegging of coal in Pennsylvania, favored the big coal operators; that Martin Egan, one of *Time's* directors, is J. P. Morgan's chief publicity man and that Morgan controls the Pennsylvania and Reading Coal Co.

The movie M.O.T. December 27, 1940 entitled "Labor and Defense 1941" attacked labor for seeking a 10 per cent wage increase to meet a similar increase in the cost of living. The newspapers used the words "sabotage" and "treason" in attacking labor, and *Time* did about the same when it got Representative Cox (D., Ga., leader of the native poll-tax fascists) to conclude the film with this statement: "Strikes against production for national defense constitute sabotage. . . ." The same film refers to "Russian-born Sidney Hillman." "Glasgow coalminer Philip Murray," "Welshman named John L. Lewis," emphasizing the foreign birth or descent of labor leaders.

M.O.T. of the air, October 16, 1941, was an extension of *Time* magazine's anti-labor bias of the time. A strike at Hillside Steel Products Co. was picked out for dramatization as a horrible example. It was claimed that this C.I.O. strike slowed tank transmission work at Spicer Manufacturing Co. in Toledo, Ohio. The usual *Time* voice of the tomb (C. W. Van Voorhis) concluded:

> United States organized labor, stronger today than at any period in its history, has come to regard as its prime civil liberty the right to strike. But many a friend of labor was wondering if this right were not being abused at the expense of national defense.

The words "national defense" were used throughout 1940, 1941 and 1942 in much the same way the hypocrite William Randolph Hearst used the American flag on the front pages of his many papers after months and years of favoring the Italian

Fascists and the Nazis. The important fact which M.O.T. did not state was that the strike had been ended 24 hours before *Time* put it on the air. The next fact not mentioned was that it was not labor's greed for money, as M.O.T. suggested, but the Hillside Company's firing of 26 C.I.O. men unjustly which caused the strike. And the third and most important fact not mentioned was that every plant supplied with Spicer transmissions had enough belts on hand for a long time, was not affected by the strike, and that this therefore could not be called a defense strike.

Another way of poisoning the air waves has been perfected by the famous Town Meeting of the Air, which is supposed to present both sides of its controversial subjects every week over the Blue Network. It has millions of listeners as well as an audience, and discussion clubs in many cities and towns, and is therefore a force in the making of public opinion. For years Moderator George V. Denny Jr. did include all viewpoints, permitting Communists, Socialists and Fascists to debate public questions, as well as Republicans, Democrats and bipartisan Tories. But toward the end of 1941 liberals, radicals and the "left" were not permitted to speak, whereas native Fascists, reactionaries and tories were invited. Sokolsky, for one.

Although Mr. Denny writes me that he gets a thousand letters of praise a week and only 1 per cent "critical," I have three mimeographed statements which Mr. Denny has lately sent to persons explaining episodes complained of.

January 8, 1942, Mr. Denny stopped a questioner who tried to ask: "How can we specifically stop the sabotage of our national defense by the auto industry." He said: "This is not a fair question." The hall murmured and Denny muttered something about "an anonymous person" not having the right to ask such questions. The facts are: that Reid Robinson, one of the speakers, had blasted management for sabotaging the defense program and named General Motors; that the newspaper *PM* and the liberal weeklies had for six months exposed the sabotage of the defense plan by Big Business, and Mr. I. F. Stone had written a whole book on this sabotage *(Business as Usual)*. Yet, Mr. Denny writes me he is not protecting Big Business and is not conscious of the fact General Motors or other firms may be buying time from Blue Network, which gives time to Town Hall free.

March 12 Town Meeting of the Air continued its labor-baiting. Mr. Denny chose Elinore Herrick, regional director of the National Labor Relations Board, as speaker for labor. This may be due to Mr Denny's ignorance, or it may be part of his plan, but in either case it is unforgivable. Miss Herrick is an opportunist and political climber of the worst sort; she is so intent on going places that the Newspaper Guild, fearing she will always decide in favor of the newspapers, whose support she needs, asks that the N.L.R.B. send outsiders to hear its grievances or decide disputes in New York. Miss Herrick opposed the 40-hour week—which is not a demand by labor for short hours but for better pay when the week is lengthened—and said kind things for the National Association of Manufacturers. The noted radio speaker H. V. Kaltenborn followed her with his usual anti-labor speech which was later proved to be a duplicate of a General Motors propaganda handout. And, since the other two speakers (Mr. Ickes and Hugh Jackson of Office of Civilian Defense) did not discuss labor, the total effect of the meeting was anti-labor, and the proof was the great applause which greeted Miss Herrick and Kaltenborn. Apparently

there is also a method of rigging Town Hall attendance and of keeping out liberals.

Town Meeting, it must be stated, is not the worst offender. There are scores of stations which are so anti-labor they will not accept money for quarter or half hours in which the unions can answer the lies against them. Speaking for the Congress of Industrial Organizations (C.I.O. — 5,000,000 strong) Director Allan S. Haywood told the Federal Communications Commission (September 25, 1941) that the radio was unfair to labor, and that the most vicious unfairness existed in those stations which are owned or controlled by the men who own the newspapers in the same towns. The press generally is unfair to labor, he said, and so is the radio, but whereas the press cannot be compelled to be fair, it is a violation of the constitutional rights of free speech when a station refuses to correct unfair treatment or to sell time to labor to do so. Haywood concluded his indictment of press and radio as follows:

1. That time, whether paid or free, is frequently refused by radio stations when requested by labor organizations.

2. That these refusals in some cases clearly reflect the bias of the station owners, their fear of offending Chambers of Commerce and business interests, and their fear that carrying a labor program may adversely affect their income from advertisers.

3. That the reason most frequently given for refusal to sell time to a labor organization is that the subject matter is "controversial" and that the code of the National Association of Broadcasters opposes selling time for controversial programs.

4. That when free time is granted for a labor program, it is as a rule not an adequate substitute in frequency or regularity for the type of paid program which has been desired.

5. That some of the more glaring instances of discrimination against labor unions have been committed by newspaper-owned stations.

6. That there is a general feeling in labor ranks, buttressed by many practical experiences, that most of the daily press is biased against labor because of its big business ownership, because of its dependence upon advertising, and because of the editorial policy of the particular publishers.

7. That the attempt by labor unions to obtain time on the air is frequently made for the purpose of offsetting propaganda and misrepresentation in the daily press.

The worst offenders, naturally, were Hearst-owned radio stations. Haywood accused KYA of San Francisco, WINS of New York, and WWJ of Detroit, the first two owned by Hearst, the third by the *Detroit News*.

On the other hand the good news must be pointed out: that considerable relief is granted by the F.C.C. and that the amount depends on public vigilance. For example, on February 19, 1941, I heard Representative Leland M. Ford of California, a native-Fascist if ever there was one, smear, slander and lie about the C.I.O. I protested to the F.C.C. and asked the Newspaper Guild and the C.I.O. itself to protest. The F.C.C. heard the evidence and ordered stations WJZ and other stations of the Blue Network, NBC, to grant the C.I.O. equal time for a reply. But that is not all. The persons or organizations smeared or libeled can appear at the annual meeting of the F.C.C. to protest the renewal of licenses to stations which permit liars such as Congressman Ford to spread their anti-labor poison on the air.

One of 1942's most hopeful events is the "Labor For Victory" program given alternate weeks by the A.F.L. and C.I.O. over a national hookup. It helps answer the Fords and Kaltenborns and Carters.

I do not believe that the newspaper will disappear. But I do believe that the radio will make even larger inroads into its circulation, and that television will again make readers into listeners and viewers. The newspaper owners know this too, and for the double reason of monopolizing advertising profit and controlling the manufacture of public opinion, the publishers and editors have been buying up the radio stations. There are less than 900 of them and 33 per cent are already owned or controlled by the same people who own and control the newspapers. Every year there are a few more stations listed but every year the percentage of newspaper ownership or control grows larger proportionately.

This is a great menace to the public. Throughout the October, 1941, hearings notable leaders of civil liberties organizations testified before the F.C.C. saying that press control of radio is a danger to liberty. (Incidentally, at that time Frank Ryhlick, Washington correspondent, wrote to the *Guild Reporter* that the overwhelming majority of newspapers and such publications as their *Editor and Publisher* virtually boycotted the hearings and printed only a few paragraphs of "testimony favorable to newspaper ownership of radio stations.")

The publishers' association, being a tool of the manufacturers' association and Washington lobby, cannot be stopped by law from monopolizing the radio, that seems certain. No law divorcing press from radio—first proposed by Senator Minton —has a chance of passing. Few Congressmen can defy the newspapers, and many work for the same bosses, the N.A.M. or the 250 ruling families. No remedy lies in this direction.

But it is imperative that every newspaper reader and every radio listener appoint himself a fighter for a free press and free radio. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Everyone must be vigilant, and everyone must exercise the right of protest. France was betrayed by its 200 ruling families. France was corrupt. But there is corruption everywhere, and the difference between the corruption of a decaying political and economic structure such as the French, and a virile civilization such as the American, is that in France there was corruption without protest. In America there is protest and therefore the sign of a better civilization. We must protest. Protest to the newspapers, organize boycotts, support the less evil among the daily newspapers if you live in an unfortunate town which has no honest paper, but always protest. It may not show results immediately, but it is effective.

As for the radio, the results are almost immediate. I do not know of a single instance where a reader of *In Fact* wrote to the F.C.C. protesting a violation of the code of ethics or of common decency by a radio station and did not receive a reply promising investigation. If in addition to these individual protests all sorts of organizations interested in the general welfare send united protests, and eventually appear in Washington every time a hearing for station license renewal is held, then it will be possible to clear the air of poison.

Compared to the great project of getting a powerful free press this is a comparatively easy job of work.

PART THREE *The People vs. the Radio and Press*

1 TO SUM UP

The reader can now decide whether the evidence produced in the preceding chapters has proved my contention that the press is corrupt, that it has usually perverted the war news as well as the labor news, and all news of social and economic importance. Nevertheless we can believe most of the war news today if we use certain precautions, such as measurement with the seven propaganda devices.

We can allow for hatred of Fascists and an attack on our enemies making itself evident in the headlines, the news columns, cartoons, even in advertising as well as in the editorial columns. And why not? Since it is humanly impossible to reach an Olympian state of disinterestedness, I would rather have the bias or coloration or propaganda in the press directed against everything which is evil in this world, and which the word Fascism sums up, than the very opposite, as it has been so often in the past.

I would like to warn readers, however, that the present impartiality or anti-Fascist attitude of the press cannot be relied upon to last. The interests of the best (or worst) part of the press are unfortunately closer to those of Fascism than to democracy.

Today most of the press is united in favoring our Allies, China, Britain, Russia and Latin American nations. We are certain of victory in the war. We will defeat the reactionary or Fascist nations. But even in the midst of a war which at the moment of writing is still going in favor of the enemy, and which we still have a chance to lose if we permit the "frustraitors," the Fifth and Sixth Columns in Congress and the press, to gain the upper hand, there are signs that these enemies are not letting up their war against the American people.

Throughout December, 1941, all elements which make up America were united. Congress, the press, the National Association of Manufacturers, the tories, the economic royalists and similar factors which always unite against every square and new deal aiming at more democracy, were united at last with those who had been fighting Fascism for years, at home and abroad.

But as 1942 grew in weeks and months and the honeymoon harmony ended, the native Fascists, the Cliveden Setters, came out of their foxholes and openly attacked. They had supported the Smith 1941 anti-labor bill which the Japanese bombs at Pearl Harbor had blown to bits. But in March, 1942, they united for the Smith anti-40-hour week bill, and they voted an extension of the Dies Committee after Representatives Eliot and Marcantonio had proved the following facts: (1) that Congressman Martin Dies is a liar, and that he used the Hitler idea of the colossal lie to make his propaganda; (2) that Dies is a plagiarist and incorporated as the main part of his

$100,000 report a 10-cent booklet published in San Francisco giving the Tanaka report of Japanese world conquest, first published in 1927; (3) that the Dies Committee aided native Italian Fascists and German Bundists and investigated no important Fascist elements; and (4) that Martin Dies gave aid and comfort to the enemy to the extent that the Berlin radio quoted him admiringly more often than any other living American.

The native Fascisti in Congress, the poll-tax Representatives and Senators, the paid stooges of the National Association of Manufacturers, the representatives of special interests, devoted days and weeks to debating the employment of a dancer and a movie star, they ranted and raved about dozens of immaterial and unimportant matters, filling the *Congressional Record* with nonsense and confusion, and then shifted to the most vicious attack on labor in recent history. The President, Donald Nelson, General Knudsen, heads of the Labor Department and heads of labor unions testified against a change in the 40-hour bill. But here again it was the American press which proved itself the leading element for well-paying reaction.

It was shown by the Twohey Associates, an organization which measures the editorial views of the newspapers in the manner Gallup measures public opinion, that only 6 per cent of the nation's press opposed the attack on the 40-hour week.

Furthermore, it was shown that a campaign to intimidate members of Congress by threats of voting for their rivals, had been started by Southern newspapers.

This pressure in itself might have been legitimate. But the press could not use legitimate means and gain its ends, because it had no case. The press therefore invented its own colossal lie. The chief and original liar was Editor E. K. Gaylord of the *Daily Oklahoman,* the *Oklahoma City Times,* and *The Farmer-Stockman,* who in printing a pledge for voters to sign said that there is a law limiting the work week in America to 40 hours. This is an absolute and unqualified falsehood. The 40-hour law is the successor to the 48-hour law and merely provides that after the maximum is worked, the employer pay extra pennies for overtime hours.

Editor Gaylord's colossal lie was taken up by other editors who were either equal liars or too ignorant of what they wrote about to be editors. The *Morning News* of Dallas, Texas, for instance, wrote: "There is a law which says men should work only 40 hours a week." There is no such law. The government issued its official figures showing that there is no war industry which is working 40 hours a week: the majority work from 44 to 52 hours a week, some more, and as expansion becomes the rule, men work longer hours and machinery will be worked up to 168 hours a week if possible. But the press either suppressed the facts or played them down, or refused to be bothered editorially by the truth.

The Washington *Times-Herald* (Eleanor Patterson) ran a page ad paid for by Dallas businessmen attacking the 40-hour week. (March 25.)

The New York *Sun* ran a fake editorial distorting a speech by Lord Halifax to make it an attack on labor.

The *Washington Post* said overtime pay retarded production. Donald Nelson proved the opposite. The *Post* buried the Nelson story. (March 23.)

The *Philadelphia Inquirer* attacked labor (March 26). Its owner, M. L. Annen-

berg, was once involved in the *Chicago Tribune*-Hearst war which was the father of all racketeering, and was then in the penitentiary.

The *New York Times* attacked labor and the 40-hour week in editorials dated March 8, 13 and 21. All these editorials were proven fraudulent by factual reporting in the financial section by Business Editor C. F. Hughes. The facts in the back pages of the *Times* make the *Times* editorial writers out to be falsifiers and anti-labor propagandists, if not worse.

The Scripps-Howard 19 papers started the attack on labor in an editorial (March 5) which General Electric and other business interests republished (with permission) and circulated by the million. The *New York World-Telegram* invited letters from readers, suppressed those which showed the editorial to be largely falsehood.

The *Nashville Banner* rewrote the Howard propaganda in a front page editorial (March 16) adding the 40-hour falsehood.

Hundreds if not thousands of daily and weekly newspapers joined in a campaign against labor apparently without orders from a Mussolini or Goebbels, but just as unanimously and just as full of lies. Papers which told the truth could be counted on one's fingers. It was pleasing to note that one of the few newspapers which exposed the crookedness of the commercial standard press was the ad-less New York newspaper *PM* which used the word "lies" in big type in a front page headline and repeated the words "liar" and "lies" about a dozen times in three days when it referred to newspapers, Congressman Leland Ford of California, and other prevaricators. The short and ugly word liar has not been exercised much since the days of Theodore Roosevelt.

It is obvious that the press is more pro-Fascist in that it is more anti-liberal and anti-labor in 1942 than it was in 1941, and in 1941 it was more reactionary than the year before. Recent history therefore should warn us that the reactionary elements in press and Congress will continue to exploit the anti-fascist World War, to use it for a campaign against the true anti-Fascist elements in America. Weeks upon end there has been more anti-labor front-page stuff — biased news items, fake headlines, prejudiced editorials—than there has been anti-fascist war news.

The American press is not to be trusted in the future any more than in the past. It is not a force for democracy today, and has not been for generations. After a war for existence has been forced upon us by Fascism many newspapers have continued for months to snipe at national unity, a united war effort, a coalition of all anti-Fascist elements in all nations to crush the greatest enemy first. The Hearst press, the McCormick-Patterson press, the Scripps-Howard press, which are as powerful as they are vicious, continued to publish news and editorials giving aid and comfort to Fascism, foreign as well as native. These enemies within grow more careful as the war grows in intensity, but it involves no risk to predict that when peace comes they will be more violently anti-people than they have been in the past.

The only cure for democracy is more democracy. This is an old saying. But here is a new way to look at it. It is recorded by Richard O. Boyer, an American newspaperman, at one time editor of *U. S. Week*. Returning from wartime Berlin he wrote:

On my last day in Germany I talked to a Nazi official in the Foreign Office for a long time. With a peculiar, bitter little smile curling at his thin lips, he spoke of the world, of England, and the U.S.A.

"There is only one way to beat us," he said, "and it is beyond the power of your so-called democracies to do it. *You would have to extend democracy to an extent that it is impossible to do with your plutocrats.* You would have to make it clear that the people in a democracy get more than the people of Germany. We're poor, but what we have is equitably distributed (Editorial note: this is a Nazi case of the use of the colossal lie) even though you don't think so."

He paused and waited for me to speak but I did not do so.

"You can't win," he said, and his manner was still taunting and unpleasant. "Look at France. Her rich men were afraid to win, afraid to fight because they feared the people. It will be the same in all countries. *You have to make democracy work to fight us effectively. Your wealthy men are more afraid of the people than of us.*"

He was very cocksure and he spoke slowly as if speaking to a child who he knew could not understand.

This is a challenge. We will either have to have more democracy in democratic America, or we too will face our own native growing Fascism after the war and be in even greater danger of succumbing to it.

What, then, can be done about it?

2 WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

Although Euripides believed that it was enough to let the facts speak for themselves, people who buy (or borrow) books, and more especially those who stand between people and the reading of books—the reviewers—demand that every volume produce "constructive criticism" or furnish a guide for action, or at least pass judgment on the evidence presented.

It seems to me that everyone who is intelligent enough to read is intelligent enough to know what to do when the truth, hitherto hidden, has suddenly been brought into the light of day. This was certainly true when Upton Sinclair wrote *The Jungle*. Although fictionalized, it was a true story of a horrible situation in the meatpacking industry, and both the public and the President immediately did something against the Armours, the Cudahys, the Swifts and the other enemies of labor and the health of the American people.

I do not have to urge readers to boycott the Hearst, Scripps-Howard, McCormick-Patterson and other anti-labor chains of newspapers. If I have presented sufficient evidence that these papers are your enemy, and you continue to buy them, you are merely driving a knife into your own brain. Nor do I have to tell readers that they must be on the watch day and night over the radio and protest to every station that falsifies the news or smears labor or attacks liberal legislation and protects the

makers of poisonous patented medicines. I do not have to point out certain technicalities, such as the fact that in addition to writing the station a protest should go to the chairman of the Federal Communications Commission and that organized groups must be ready to appear in Washington to protest the renewals of licenses of stations which insist on poisoning the airwaves.

I will therefore not write much of an editorial conclusion, but present technical advice on a most important subject. It might be entitled "the free press is the labor press."

I have before me the March, 1942, report of the Work Projects Administration on unemployment, which reads as follows:

	Jan. 1942	*Dec. 1941*	*Jan. 1941*
Labor Force	52,400,000	53,300,000	52,800,000
Employed	48,200,000	49,500,000	45,200,000
Unemployed	4,200,000	3,800,000	7,600,000

What interested me most in this tabulation was "labor force." This is the total of employed and unemployed. Seasonal and casual workers may be excluded from "labor force" if they do not fall into any of these two categories, for example, agricultural workers in off-season, without definite job connection and not seeking work, or industrial workers such as construction workers if they are laid off and not seeking work during such off season. The armed forces and persons in institutions (about 1,125,000 of the latter) are not included.

This labor force of 52,000,000 includes both men and women, husbands and wives who work for a living; in fact, it includes the heads of families which total almost the entire 130,000,000 population of the United States. Unfortunately only 11,000,000 belong to unions, and unfortunately among these eleven millions there are still many who do not realize that unionization is a way to a greater democracy and a more democratic America where not only life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness will be better, but equality and fraternity will become a condition rather than a slogan.

The fact is pretty well established that labor is America and America is labor, as Philip Murray stated, and the fact ought to be established that the man who says he loves America and hates labor is a liar, as Abraham Lincoln put it. It is true that we who work for a living are America, and I hope I have established it as a fact in the preceding chapters that those who hate labor (and are therefore the real enemies of America) are the special interests which I have named; and the main power which creates hatred of labor and therefore is the most un-American force in America, is the press.

To be absolutely fair about such a statement as this I have for many years been asking apologists for the newspapers to name at least three dailies in big cities which are beyond the charge of venality, corruption and unfairness, and which are therefore fair if not friendly to labor. In 1935 in *Freedom of the Press* I collected all statements and views. There have been many changes in the newspaper world since then, and the apologists for the press still cannot name a half-dozen papers equalling

the *Manchester Guardian* or the pre-Hitler *Frankfurter Zeitung,* and so long as great America has not got at least half a dozen such papers it has no free press.

The best that can be done to date is the following list:

1. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch.* Still America's best paper. Unfortunately its circulation is not nationwide.

2. *Christian Science Monitor.* It never suppressed or colored the news, but it was always upper-class, and lately its labor news has been decidedly not pro-labor.

3. *Chicago Sun.* Unfortunately this well-intentioned paper began publishing with Silliman Evans and Rex Smith as editors. Smith is gone, and if Evans quits we may have a great liberal daily in Chicago.

4. *PM.* New York's ad-less paper, owned by the *Sun's* owner, the multimillionaire Marshall Field, is not a conventional newspaper, as is the *Sun.* It is something new in crusading journalism, and it does not take on the man-eating shark—or the loan sharks—and other non-advertisers for its crusades, as do the fake-liberal Scripps-Howard chain newspapers, but it attacks wealth and power, corporations and newspaper owners who fake the news or betray America. Unfortunately sometimes *PM* will stoop to redbaiting, as for example its smear of the leading anti-Fascist Congressman, Vito Marcantonio. But, on the other hand, *PM* must be credited with exposing fake advertising, publishing hundreds if not thousands of news items suppressed by the *New York Times, Herald Tribune, World-Telegram, Post, Sun* and Hearst papers, and it has also pilloried native Fascist columnists such as David Lawrence, Westbrook Pegler, and George E. Sokolsky in a department headed "Bunk" which might also be headed "Lies."

5. Southern papers. *Norfolk Virginian Pilot,* L. I. Jaffe, editor; *Raleigh News & Observer,* Jonathan Daniels and Josephus Daniels, editors; *Richmond Times-Dispatch,* Virginius Dabney, editor; *Atlanta Constitution,* Clark Howell, editor and *Atlanta Journal,* John Paschall, editor, deserve the honor roll for fair treatment of the South's Negro problem. Atlanta papers defeated Gov. Talmadge.

If anyone knows the names of six big newspapers which are on the side of the 52,000,000 "labor force"—which is America—and against our enemies, which includes big industrial advertisers, I would like to have them.

There are of course scores of small city and town daily newspapers which belong on any honor roll. For example:

New Milford Times, New Milford, Conn.; Alfred C. Worley, editor.

Capital-Press, Salem, Ore.; A. M. Church, editor.

Malden Press, Malden, Mass.; David Brickman, editor.

Capital-Times, Madison, Wis.; William Evjue, editor.

Gazette & Daily, York, Pa.; J. W. Gitt, editor.

Emporia Gazette, Emporia, Kan.; William Allen White, editor.

I do not want to do any one an injustice by omitting its name, but I maintain that the fact that there are scores, perhaps hundreds, of good small newspapers is not important, because all of these papers rolled together do not have a tenth of one per cent of the influence of one newspaper representing wealth, reaction and corruption, such as the *New York Times.*

We must accept as a fact the antagonism to us, to labor, and to America's welfare, of the big city press, the opinion-making press, and its three news sources, the Associated Press, United Press and International News Service, owned and controlled by (a) phony cooperative of the big papers; (b) Roy Howard; and (c) Hearst, respectively.

To illustrate what this conspiracy against America does and the necessity for everyone to keep on the alert and devote a good part of his time working for a free press, I have gone through the four pages of a good labor paper, well called *Labor*, organ of the Railroad Brotherhoods, whose only fault is that it is too conservative. In one issue (March 3, 1942) I found that eleven of its stories, including four on its front page, dealt with the press and exposed its unfairness. These eleven stories are:

1. "Uncle Sam's Spokesmen publicly denounce falsehoods about labor circulated by the press." Four government agencies repudiated four major falsehoods. Newspapers are named and the United Press (Roy Howard) "denounced in strong terms by the Labor Board." A copy of this exposé of the Scripps-Howard laborbaiting falsehood was sent by me to Robert Scripps of the *Cleveland Press*, heir of the UP and Scripps-Howard chain; the suggestion was made that he restate the liberal policy of his famous grandfather and father, but young Mr. Scripps preferred to keep silent.

2. Chairman William H. Davis of National War Labor Board denounced another UP story of union status in steel as "wholly without foundation."

3. "Another lie officially scotched" dealt with draft law exemption for labor leaders.

4. The Department of Labor took cognizance of the lying strike figures of the National Association of Manufacturers which appeared in the *New York Times* and other papers.

5. Among those buying military secrets and publishing them were several newspapers and magazines, Attorney General Biddle testified (Senate Judiciary Committee) but the publications suppressed this story.

6. "Ruthless employers try to goad workers into acts of desperation, that press may smear." Accused by *Labor* and President Brown of International Association of Machinists are the press, N.A.M., and the strikebreaking organization, Committee for Constitutional Government, headed by S. B. Pettengill.

7. *"Washington Star* Libels Workers." One of the many smears against labor, made in MacArthur's name, exposed.

8. The Tugwell episode—how the press killed the Tugwell pure drugs bill.

9. The living wage. Fake stories about profits for labor exposed; official figures given to refute lying press.

10. "Papers Won't Print This"—a special small story.

11. Finally, the usual daily lie about strikes in defense industries shown to be of newspaper origin.

Eleven major falsehoods discovered by one labor newspaper in one week—and

the biggest falsifier the United Press, second largest news agency in America, if not in the world. When the United Press sends out its usual anti-labor news stories, they appear in more than a thousand newspapers, influence the majority of the 42,000,000 who buy papers daily in America.

The eleven instances can be duplicated in many weeks. They prove that the big papers of the nation falsify the news so far as labor is concerned. Therefore, if *Labor* and the *CIO News,* and scores of other labor weeklies had urged their readers to boycott these papers, there would be few papers left to read, and if they urged letters of protest to the editors (which I do believe in) the wrongs done could not be undone in time.

Up to 1940 one of the hopes of a free press was pinned on the possibility a millionaire would endow one, just as millionaires endow universities where substantial academic freedom prevails despite the odor of oil, tobacco or public utility corruption. But the establishment of two papers by Marshall Field has dimmed that hope—I trust temporarily. No one doubts that Mr. Field means to publish two newspapers equal to the *Manchester Guardian,* or even better, but so far this has been more a wish than a fulfillment.

Another great hope dimmed was in the American Newspaper Guild. Under Heywood Broun the newspapermen of America at last organized, and once they had organized they realized that merely fighting for higher wages, fire escapes and cleaner toilets was not enough. They recognized such facts as the existence of social and economic forces, and they were willing to become part of them. In 1937 they passed a series of resolutions on national questions, they took sides in political movements, they recognized that the war in Spain was the first international attack of international Fascism, and passed a resolution against it. Immediately the reactionaries in the Guild made this a religious issue, and from then on the union of reactionaries and many who placed factionalism above liberalism resulted in a campaign of redbaiting—such as newspapermen always denounce in the newspapers—and the elimination of the most progressive part of the leadership, including the man who organized the Guild and built up the New York branch which is its keystone. Today the Guild policy seems to be to stick to wages and hours and leave the world alone. This of course would eliminate the Guild as a force working for a real free press. At least this is what many of its members throughout the country write me when they send me items for my newsletter.

I am reduced therefore to one solution for the press problem, and that is a daily newspaper press owned by its readers, and since it is apparently impossible to organize millions of readers, then I would propose a press owned by organized labor. In 1934 I sent such a proposal to John L. Lewis via Heywood Broun, and more recently I made the same proposal to the heads of the C.I.O. I have been promised an opportunity to speak for a labor press at a coming convention of the C.I.O.; many labor leaders in Detroit have asked me to do so.

What I propose is a string of daily newspapers, say five, published from New York to California, which will have a double function. First, and foremost, to publish the news. The papers are to be newspapers. They are to follow the conventional pattern; but they will print all the news, and they will differ from 98 per

cent or more of the big city press today in printing the news honestly. In other words, news concerning labor, the majority, will also be presented honestly. The second function of the labor-owned press will be to expose every newspaper which is not honest, to question every dishonest editorial, to expose every fake, distortion, to print the suppressed, to point out the bias, and in general to right every wrong. It is not enough to have *Labor* point out eleven flagrant examples in one week; it will be better to fight this thing out every day. In other words, the work of the labor weeklies, the liberal weeklies, newsletters, etc., would be multiplied a thousand times, and not one lie would escape notice, so that in a short time the 42,000,000 newspaper buyers would realize that an era of truth has dawned in American journalism, and they would turn from the Hearst, Howard, McCormick-Patterson chains and other anti-labor papers, and become readers of their own press. (Of course, there might be millions who would prefer Orphan Annie, Dick Tracy, and Superman to a press devoted to a better living and a better world.)

The labor dailies could be financed by either a combination of A. F. of L., C.I.O. and Railroad Brotherhoods, or by the organizations individually, from their treasuries, or by a levy of 50 cents to a dollar a year, or even a larger amount which would include a year's subscription. *PM*, which is an expensive job, is said to be losing $1,500,000 a year. With economies its loss could be cut in half, and such an amount could be raised from labor unions in New York. Moreover, *PM* at 5 cents a copy believes it will pay all expenses (although it gets no outside money from advertising) when its circulation reaches 250,000, and a labor paper would start with a much bigger circulation. It probably would be priced 3 cents and therefore have to make up its losses through assessments.

It must not be forgotten that a national newspaper requires not only a million dollars for a start, but a million dollars a year if it takes little advertising and makes headway in circulation slowly. Howard spent $11,000,000 to make the *World-Telegram* a money-making paper, and Stern sank $3,800,000 into the *New York Post* to raise its circulation to 300,000. When he sold it to George Backer, new millions were poured into it without making it self-sustaining.

In addition to daily national newspapers owned by the public or their representatives, the labor unions, I would also advocate a great labor press bureau, a publishing house which would print books, pamphlets, broadsides, folders, everything necessary to spread a true statement and to act as an antidote for the poison of the press and radio waves.

We have documentary proof that the National Electric Light Association, fighting public ownership of light and power, spent up to $29,000,000 a year in creating public opinion in favor of private money. We have documentary evidence that the National Association of Manufacturers did the same. Only the other day I received another lot of samples of N.A.M. propaganda, which is being handed out to students in the public schools of Philadelphia.

Every piece of propaganda put out by the N.A.M., the Associated Farmers, the Industrial Council, the Merchants and Manufacturers Association, the Chamber of Commerce, Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government, and all other employers' organizations in the interest of their own wealth and power should be coun-

tered with truthful propaganda put out by labor. It may cost a million dollars a year, but it is worth it. The Christian Science Church has its Boston publishing house and its committees in all large cities which watch for every mention of Christian Science and challenge every reference which is not favorable. Within memory Christian Science was the butt of jokes for comedians, cartoonists, newspaper paragraphers, but all that is changed now. It is treated with respect everywhere. I am sure that it was the press bureau of the Church which is responsible for this change.

It will be difficult with labor because the commercial press is an employer and therefore an enemy of labor. Do not forget that when the Wagner Act was passed the only employers who refused to obey it were the newspaper owners. Chief Counsel Elisha Hanson sent a notice to all members of the American Newspaper Publishers Association saying not to obey the law, and it was not until the Supreme Court (in the case of Associated Press employee Morris Watson, fired for organizing newspapermen) declared the Wagner Act constitutional that the angry, chagrined and snarling publishers began to obey the law in their sour and surly fasion. Sulzberger of the *Times* and Howard of the Scripps-Howard chain continued to fight unionization for years.

Finally, in addition to national newspapers and a great press bureau, I would suggest that labor realize its power and use its pressure.

We have documentary evidence that the all-powerful pressure group in Washington is the N.A.M. (with the ANPA as one of its main tools). N.A.M. represents billions of dollars. N.A.M. influences Senators and Representatives; it contributes the best part of the presidential election fund of $25,000,000 an election. But the use of money, the corruption of the press, the buying of Congressmen will not avail against the pressure of 11,000,000 organized working men and their families and friends, and many unorganized who are intelligent enough to see in the labor movement the movement for a greater democracy.

Let us not hesitate to use pressure. Everywhere. Especially in Congress and in the press. Let us not hesitate to form open public lobbies to work against the secret and sinister lobbies of the enemy. Let us protest to the newspapers, to the radio commission, to the trade commission, to our Congressmen, to the President. Let nothing inimical to labor and the people go unchallenged.

Finally, I believe that the most important thing to do now is to create the atmosphere in labor's ranks for the aforementioned things and actions: a national free press, a press bureau, a labor lobby (without factionalism) and the exercise of overwhelming pressure. Our first objective should be the creation of the consciousness of the power of a future free press, the realization that the present commercial press is our enemy, and that we have the power to change all that.

We have 27 per cent of the people, or 30,000,000 Americans, according to a *Fortune* poll, already skeptical of the standard press, doubtful of its honesty, suspicious of the news it serves, and therefore by implication, ready to join in a movement for a non-commercial, fair and honest press.

The future of a free press in America rests with the labor movement.

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Comments From Readers

"Your book is bully. The world will be better. Good luck."
Telegram from UPTON SINCLAIR.

"I one day made a solemn pact with myself to there and then quit the Harlot Press, as I had named it to myself, for good—never again to take a reporter's job on any newspaper anywhere, even though I starved. And I did so quit and fairly approached starvation before I cut into the Editorial and Magazine article field, where, at last, little food or much, I could write what I knew to be so and sell at least enough of it to be able to live. And since then (I was 26 at the time) the so called 'Free Press' has been to me and remains, as I have repeatedly stated, the Harlot Press, the Kept Press, the Corporation controlled Press, etc., etc. And Upton Sinclair's 'THE BRASS CHECK,' as well as your own vivid 'THE FACTS ARE . . .' have merely confirmed me in my original opinion and my very early decision."
THEODORE DREISER

"Many newspapers 'slant' editorials and 'play' the news to serve private interests to the detriment of the common man. Mr. Seldes' book 'THE FACTS ARE . . .' reveals why and how they do this.... Americans who want to be intelligent about newspapers they read should know this book."
PROF. CLYDE MILLER, Teachers College,
Former Sec'y Institute for Propaganda Analysis.

"I have only had a chance so far to open the book at random but it is evident that you have found some weak points for your sledge hammer blows. . . . You are doing a much needed job. More power to you."
HAROLD L. ICKES, Secretary of the Interior.

" 'THE FACTS ARE. . .' . . . certainly has a punch."
THURMAN ARNOLD, Assistant United States Attorney General.

" 'THE FACTS ARE . . .' is a magnificent job. I especially recommend it to Navy Officers, and I hope every one of our Navy Officers will read it."
Lt. Commander CHARLES S. SEELY, U.S. Navy (retired), Editorial Director, Navy News.

"Am reading 'THE FACTS ARE . . .', and it's great."
CAL TINNEY, Radio Commentator.

"I read your recent book ('THE FACTS ARE . . .') with pleasure and profit. You are doing a swell job of hammering away on this all-important issue."
LEN DE CAUX, Editor, CIO News, Publicity Director, CIO.

"Excellent."
LEO HUBERMAN, Author, Public Relations Director, National Maritime Union, CIO.

" 'THE FACTS ARE . . .' is an outstanding contribution to the war effort. It is packed full of the very facts which every American should know."
STETSON KENNEDY, Author and Book Reviewer, Florida Times Union.

"I must say it is quite the greatest document on the exposure of the press that has yet been published. It surpasses, to my mind, the 'Brass Check' by Upton Sinclair."
F. V. BANKS, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, N. Y. Central Lines, West.

"All of George Seldes' books are good; 'THE FACTS ARE . . .' was unusually good."
J. D. HICKMAN, Secretary, Oil Workers International Union, Ingleside, Texas.

"I wish to congratulate you for your splendid book 'THE FACTS ARE . . .' After having read it I sent my copy to the library of the University of Puerto Rico . . . with a note emphasizing the importance of its reading by students of a democratic country."
MANUEL ARROYO, San Juan, Puerto Rico

" 'THE FACTS ARE . . .' goes beyond your claim for it. It's great!"
Major T. A. RUDDELL (retired), Atlanta, Ga.

"It's the most vital stuff I've ever read. It contains every answer. If we could get the Gideon Bible crowd to pass it around the country, in three weeks everyone would be speaking a new language."—
LEWIS BOOTH, Associate Editor,
Union Journal.

"A huge service for journalism."
MARTIN KAMIN, Bookseller

"George Seldes is a man with a conscience—our contemporary Thomas Paine. The section on propaganda is particularly good."
LOUIS VAN DEUREN, Bendix Local,
South Bend, Ind.

"The chief of my company has read IN FACT since I've subscribed to it and desires to get your book."
Pvt. J. E. S., Chicago, Ill.

Meet GEORGE SELDES

☆ ☆ ☆

In 1909 George Seldes went to work for the Pittsburgh Leader. When he found that news was suppressed, he sent these items to the free weeklies, just as hundreds of newspaper men today are sending him suppressed news items for his weekly, In Fact.

In 1916 Seldes worked for the United Press office, London, and for a short while was editor of the Army Edition of the Chicago Tribune, Paris. He then became a member of the press section of our Army G-2-D, A E F, under direct control of General Pershing. He was attached to the Rainbow (42nd) Division and was praised by Pershing.

In 1919 the Chicago Tribune sent Seldes to cover the Black and Tan war in Ireland. Seldes carried messages from the Irish revolutionaries to his London office, in which Lloyd George's secretary, Philip Kerr, later Lord Lothian, arranged for the Irish peace. After covering the D'Annunzio seizure of Fiume and interviewing Mussolini, Seldes got caught in the midst of the German monarchist "Putsch" of 1920. In 1922 he was assigned to Moscow, reported the famine, talked to Lenin, wrote an exclusive story of the new Red Army, scored many scoops. In 1924 he was assigned to Rome, but in 1925 was deported for publishing the true story of the assassination of the Socialist leade Matteotti and the part Mussolini played.

1926 and 1927 Seldes exclusively covered the native uprising against the French in Syria, scooped the world on the bombardment of Damascus. In 1927 by accident he had a world scoop on the Vienna revolution.

But his greatest scoop was Admiral Scheer's suppressed report to the Kaiser on the Battle of Jutland (Skagerrak). Scheer told the secret of Big Ship vs. Submarine; Capital Ship vs. Airplane, and the truth about Jutland, but the British gov't, which fished a copy out of the scuttled ships at Scapa Flow, suppressed the story.

Among notables Seldes interviewed in the 17 years he worked in Europe were: Mussolini, Scheer, D'Annunzio, Hindenburg, Ludendorff, the King of Iraq, Michael Collins the great Irish hero, Arthur Griffith, Masaryk, Benes, Lloyd George, President Wilson at Versailles, Streseman, Admiral Horthy, several Balkan kings and Baltic presidents.

In 1929 Seldes published "You Can't Print That." Among his other books are "Freedom of the Press," "Lords of the Press," "Sawdust Caesar," "Witch Hunt," "The Catholic Crisis," and "The Facts Are . . ." In 1940 Seldes established a weekly newsletter, In Fact, dealing largely with suppressed news and exposing the anti-labor press.